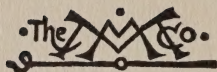


Division BS1187
Section .P88

IN SEARCH OF GOD



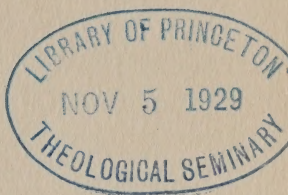
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK . BOSTON . CHICAGO . DALLAS
ATLANTA . SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON . BOMBAY . CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

IN SEARCH OF GOD

*An Appreciation of the
Ancient Hebrew Literature*



BY

✓
JOHN WALKER POWELL

SPECIAL LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

AUTHOR OF "WHAT IS A CHRISTIAN?" "THE CONFESSIONS OF A
BROWNING LOVER," ETC.

*By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out
into a place which he should after receive for an
inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing
whither he went.*

HEBREWS xi. 8.

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1929

COPYRIGHT, 1929,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and printed.

All rights reserved, including the right of reproduction
in whole or in part in any form.

SET UP BY BROWN BROTHERS LINOTYPERS
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE FERRIS PRINTING COMPANY

TO

PROFESSOR JOHN CORRIN HUTCHINSON

WHOSE PAINSTAKING SCHOLARSHIP, PASSIONATE
LOVE OF TRUTH, AND PROPHETIC SPIRITUAL FIRE
HAVE BEEN FOR THIRTY-FIVE YEARS A SILENT
REBUKE AND AN UNCEASING INSPIRATION, AND
WHOSE FRIENDSHIP IS ONE OF LIFE'S MOST
TREASURED REWARDS

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED

*Oft have I seen at some cathedral door
A laborer, pausing in the dust and heat,
Lay down his burden, and with reverent feet
Enter, and cross himself, and on the floor
Kneel to repeat his paternoster o'er;
Far off the noises of the world retreat;
The loud vociferations of the street
Become an undistinguishable roar.
So, as I enter here from day to day,
And leave my burden at this minster gate,
Kneeling in prayer, and not ashamed to pray,
The tumult of the time disconsolate
To inarticulate murmurs dies away,
While the eternal ages watch and wait.*

LONGFELLOW, Dante's Inferno.

CONTENTS

THE GREAT ADVENTURE	PAGE 13
--------------------------------------	--------------------

BOOK I. THE NATIONAL EXPERIMENT

CHAPTER

I. HEROES OF LEGEND	19
II. OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE	34
III. THE BIRTH OF A NATION	45
IV. THE PERIOD OF GLORY	55
V. DISRUPTION AND ANARCHY	69

BOOK II. THE PROPHETIC VISION

VI. INTERPRETERS OF DESTINY	77
VII. THE MASTER-SEERS	87
VIII. THE SUBLIMATION OF HOPE	98

BOOK III. BARDS AND SAGES

IX. THE HEBREW EPIC	111
X. SONGS IN THE NIGHT	121
XI. THE WORDS OF THE WISE	129
XII. THE LITERATURE OF DISILLUSION	135
ENVOY	153
BIBLIOGRAPHY	158

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

*Yes, your "Never-never country"—yes, your
"edge of cultivation"
And "no sense in going further"—till I
crossed the range to see.
God forgive me! No, I didn't. It's God's
present to our nation.
Anybody might have found it but—His
Whisper came to Me!*

KIPLING, The Explorer

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

An unending fascination clings to all stories of exploration and pioneering. The wanderings of Odysseus, the travels of Marco Polo, the discoveries of Columbus, the voyages of Hakluyt and Drake, Livingstone's explorations, the conquest of the Pole—these are the classics of adventure. They stand for the unceasing effort of man to push back the frontiers of his world, to dare the unknown, to achieve freedom of spirit by enlarging the boundaries of experience. Whether the field of exploration be outer or inner; geographic, scientific, metaphysical, political or social, the pioneers have been the greatest benefactors of mankind; adventurous souls who refused to settle comfortably within the limits of established truth, but chose rather to

Follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought.

Of all quests, the greatest is the spiritual. The immortal questions of Kant remain the deepest that the human soul propounds: *Was kann ich wissen? Was soll ich thun? Was darf ich hoffen?* Reality, Duty, Destiny. What is it all about? Has experience any meaning whatsoever? Is there any clew to the maze of conflicting desires and purposes, hopes and fears, amid which we wander in worlds not realized? What is our relation to the mysteries of sunrise and sunset, of earth and the distant stars? Why are we

here? What is the secret of happiness? What lies behind the impenetrable curtain of Death? Whence come

Those first affections,
Those shadowy recollections,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all our day
Are yet a master-light of all our seeing?

What and where is God? Can the soul of man claim any kinship with Him? Can it enter into any discoverable relations with Him? May it be that finding Him we shall find the answer to all questions?

The complete story of this quest would involve the history of all religions and all philosophies. Many hints have been discovered, many truths of lasting value have been found. To one race in history it was given, however, to carry its explorations in this field farther and more successfully than any other. As the Greek sought beauty, and in its quest discovered the Parthenon and the Zeus of Phidias; as the Roman sought order and discovered law; as the Anglo-Saxon sought liberty and discovered democracy: so the Jew sought truth and discovered God.

The Old Testament, which is nothing in the world but the collected body of Hebrew literature, is the record of this quest. It has been studied for centuries as a divine revelation, of which the Jew was regarded as the passive recipient. Theology has confused and perplexed mankind with a thousand questions concerning evidences, authority, canons of interpretation and the like, grown all but meaningless with the passing of time.

The mind of our age is impatient of authority. It is eager and determined in its search for truth, but it

refuses to be bound by the tradition of the past. It insists on facts, rooted in experience, capable of being tested and authenticated. Its interpretation of the facts when discovered is tentative, cautious, forever yielding to the modifications made necessary by further facts. The unwillingness of the custodians of the religious tradition to submit their material to this process has resulted in the almost complete alienation of the world of thought and culture. The traditional dogma has lost its force. The traditional religious experience has little meaning for the average intelligent man, who through lack of the "conditioning" of childhood training no longer possesses the background through which the emotions once engendered by the exercises of religion can arise.

Every thoughtful person acknowledges the important part which religion has played in human experience, but the fountains of spiritual feeling seem to have dried up at their source. We are afforded the spectacle of a world of eager and earnest minds to which the richest experiences of the soul are a closed book, a forgotten secret. The very language of religion has grown void of significance. We have a morality without sanctions, a religiosity whose appeal is chiefly esthetic. The science of the past generation has been largely based on mechanistic presuppositions which if carried to their logical end would annul science itself. Modern civilization is truncated through its inability to revitalize the atrophied nerves of spiritual apprehension, or to galvanize the dead body of dogma into a semblance of life.

Granted that the unthinking masses are still swayed by tradition, and that on the other hand there are countless earnest and thoughtful folk who cherish the

essential spirit of the ancient faith while clearly conscious of its failure to satisfy the intellectual demands of the age, it remains true that the present is a world of unreligion, of doubt or indifference regarding the basic conceptions of the spiritual life.

When the old channels are blocked, it is well to cut through from a new angle till the original sources are tapped. Since the idea of an authoritative revelation of the Divine has ceased to interest the mind of modern man, may it not be that the study of the soul's quest from the human side will afford a more intimate understanding of spiritual reality and bring to mankind an authentic knowledge of deeper truth?

Whatever else the Bible may be, it is the record of human experience. It is the story of the search for spiritual satisfactions. It is the Great Adventure, the history of a race sprung from the loins of one who, in response to an inward vision, "went out, not knowing whither he went."

The history of the Hebrews is the record of the vicissitudes through which they became convinced of divine guidance. Their literature is the interpretation of that experience. It is the fruit of the burning inner life of men whose souls caught fire at the altar of vital spiritual contact. What they found the world still needs. What they learned they may still teach us. When we have fully understood that the Hebrew Scriptures are the humanest literature in the world, they may become for us once more a divine Book, a fountain of light and life.

BOOK I
THE NATIONAL EXPERIMENT

*As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth
over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings,
taketh them, beareth them on her wings: So the
Lord alone did lead him, and there was no
strange god with him.*

DEUTERONOMY xxxiii. 11, 12

CHAPTER I

HEROES OF LEGEND

THE spiritual quest of the Children of Abraham is inextricably entangled with their historic adventure. Moral ideals and spiritual insight were the fruit of their growing experience and knowledge of life. Our method, therefore, must be the historical one, tracing in broad outline the story of the Hebrew nation while at the same time we seek to discover the steps by which they came to spiritual maturity.

There is no more romantic exploit in human annals than the quest of national self-determination. Herein lies the tragedy of the fall of Troy, the inspiration of the wanderings of Aeneas. It is the secret of the unending fascination of the stories of William Tell and Arnold von Winkelried, of Wallace and Bruce, of Kosciusko and Garibaldi and George Washington.

The tragedy of Hebrew history has been obscured by a fog of theological speculation and controversy. With a capacity for missing the obvious little short of genius, Wells, in the *Outline of History*, dismisses the story of the Jewish nation as of little account because its territory was infinitesimal, and its fortunes were without effect on the destiny of world-empires. It is true that Solomon in all his glory reigned over a territory scarcely as large as New Jersey. It is true that Palestine lay in the very dooryard of the ancient world. To establish national independence in such a situation was like try-

ing to set up a Bedouin camp in Times Square. It was the sublime and unconscious audacity of the attempt that gave it its significance. It was because the Jew wrested his brief national existence from among the trampling feet of warring empires that the lessons he learned became universal in application. When his nation died he became a citizen of the world, carrying to the ends of the earth his race pride, his fierce intolerance, his passion for the truth that is untouched by the vicissitudes of political strife.

The beginnings of the Hebrew race are lost in the mists of legend and tribal tradition. It must never be forgotten that as we have it that history was written by priests and prophets centuries after the events it describes. It was written in the light of the lessons the experiences themselves had taught, and is rather a philosophy of history than history itself. Back of the historical writings of the Scriptures lie centuries of folk-tale and historical ballad, as the deeds of patriarchs and heroes were chanted by warriors on the march or sung by minstrels in the market-place, told by old men around the campfire or as bedtime stories by mothers to their children. It is the task of the historian to reconstruct from these romantic tales the reality of the national experience. For our purpose, we must seek to recapture the spirit of ancient adventure and to discover the process whereby the lessons of life were transmuted into a constructive spiritual philosophy. The more ruthlessly we strip from the story the elements of myth and legend which invested it with an adventurous supernaturalism, and see it as the record of an ambitious and venturesome race making a home for

themselves amid the falling ruins of a decadent civilization, the more thrilling and significant it becomes.

We first come upon the Hebrews in authentic history as a group of nomadic tribes not essentially different from the Bedouin of to-day. They emerged from the Arabian desert, that fruitful mother of ancient peoples, and about the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. crossed the deep cleft of the Jordan and began a long struggle to find a foothold and make a permanent home for themselves on the broad ridge which forms the backbone of central Palestine.

It was a moment of pause in the world's life. Three civilizations, those of Crete, Egypt and Mesopotamia, had passed their zenith and were crumbling into decay. The first disappeared so utterly under the impact of the Dorian migration that its very memory passed away. Such traces as were left in Greek legend were regarded as solar myths, and it is only within a generation that the spade of the explorer has recovered its glorious past. The empire of Hammurabi had sunk into a stupor from which it awakened for a short time under the leadership of Assyria four hundred years later, presently to fall before Persia, Macedon and Rome. The glory of Egypt had passed with the passing of Ramses II, and she was struggling feebly against the incursions of Ethiopians and Libyans on her desert borders. For centuries Hittite and Canaanite had dominated the "fertile crescent" which connects Mesopotamia with Egypt, but these too had fallen into decadence. Luxury and the debasing practices of a degraded nature-worship had sapped their vitality, and the walled cities of Canaan were ready to fall at a push. Like Jericho, the veteran warden of the Jordan ford, it

needed but the solemn march of a mysterious foe and the sudden blast of the warlike trumpet, and the walls were bound to collapse and the people to become a prey.

The Beni-Israel were not only seasoned sons of the desert, inured to hardship and fierce in battle. They were also under the domination of an intolerant religious creed and an ethical ideal strangely pure. They traced their ancestry to that patriarchal sheikh of lofty character and devout wisdom who for his loyalty was known as the Friend of God, and who, according to their most cherished tradition, had forsaken his kindred and his father's house that he might follow, a stranger in a strange land, the vision of an immortal destiny for his descendants.

The whole history of Israel is an insoluble enigma unless we approach it from the point of view of Abraham's venture and the Covenant he received from Jehovah. Half-mythical though the Patriarchs may be; though their story be made up in part of shorthand epitomes of tribal experience; though the substratum of personal biography be overlaid with the exaggerations and idealizations of a thousand years; nevertheless these stories were woven into the very warp and woof of the Hebrew consciousness. They were not invented by ninth-century zealots and foisted on a credulous age. In their present form they bear the marks of repeated reëditing, yet they betray in every detail their source in the popular traditions of the common folk. They are but the recapitulation of matters that everybody knows.

The driving force in the national struggles of the Jewish race was an idea, a vision. They were a Chosen Race, heirs of the Covenant made by Jehovah with

their fathers. Though the Patriarchs had drifted through the land like shadows, though for centuries the tribes had fed their cattle by the desert springs or toiled in bondage in the land of Egypt, Canaan was theirs in fee simple. They had come to claim their own, and their destiny was secure. Whence came this all-conquering conviction? By what virtue in the souls of ancient heroes did it survive the disillusionment of ten dreary centuries ere it came to blossom and fruitage in the conquest of the Promised Land? The answer is found in the matchless biographies of Genesis and the wonder-stories of Exodus and Numbers.

There is probably not a single incident in the stories of Abraham or of Joseph upon which we can lay a finger and say, "This is historical fact." For all that, these ancient traditions are of genuine historic worth. Such a heritage of tribal lore does not come out of a clear sky. Beneath it lies a solid substratum of historical reality. This much is clear: the tribes of Israel originated in Babylonia. Under the leadership of nomadic chieftains they drifted up and down the fertile crescent, now allying themselves with kindred tribes in northern Syria, now driven by drought and famine to the borders of Egypt. One of their heroes rose to power and became a grand vizier in that country, and some, at least, of the tribes settled for a time in the fertile strip called Goshen which connects the Delta with Suez. Here they eventually sunk into slavery, whence they were rescued during the period of confusion which followed the death of Ramses II, to resume their nomadic life in the Arabian desert, and finally emerged to attempt the conquest of the Promised Land. These facts are as certain as any in the life of the ancient world.

Equally certain is the spiritual vision which led their first great chieftain to migrate from Chaldea into Canaan. Whatever the origin of the Covenant, and how it may have entered the mind of the Patriarch or with what sanctions, it was from the beginning the formative idea which dominated the imagination and inspired the movements of the earliest patriarchal clans, held them steadfast to a destined end, and finally drove them to the romantic achievement of national existence.

A further principle must be kept steadily in mind as we read these old tales. Their persistence and popularity bear witness to the governing ideals of the race which produced them. Such stories in their very naïveté are the unconscious expression of the race spirit. The same process is forever at work in human history. Even in these days of newspapers and popular education we make myths of our public men while they live, and demigods after their death. The storm of protest with which recent attempts to reproduce the actual biographies of Washington and Lincoln have been met is due to the fact that the idealized portraits we have cherished are the embodiment of our national dreams and hopes. We are not interested in Washington's youthful amours or his oaths at the Battle of Monmouth, in Lincoln's awkwardness or the raciness of some of his stories, because these things do not represent the true significance of the men. The Washington of the Stuart portraits, the Lincoln of "The Perfect Tribute," are more real than the subjects of Hughes' or Sandburg's recent biographies, for the reason that our national traditions have caught up and carried down to us the qualities by virtue of which these great personalities accomplished their historic

ends, and through which they have become the symbols of loyal patriotic devotion and broad human sympathy. If they do not help us to know the actual men, they do enable us to understand America and the purposes embodied in our experiment in free government. In like manner the actual Abraham, Isaac and Jacob long since disappeared in the mists of the distant past. They have survived in the idealized portraits of Genesis as the embodiment of the moral ideals and spiritual convictions of the race which claimed them as its progenitors.

The historical significance of these stories, however, is of interest mainly to the student. The thing that has made them live in the affectionate interest of thoughtful readers is their deep humanness. Compare the character of Abraham with that of Nestor or Agamemnon in Homer's tale of Troy, Jacob with Odysseus, Joseph with Hector. The Greek excels in romantic adventure, the Hebrew in dignity and essential moral worth. Both are idealized history, but who can question which comes nearer to the common life, or stresses the more significant human values?

Abraham is one of the most majestic figures in literature. With great simplicity, with vast dignity, he moves through the pages of the ancient record, the equal of kings, the friend of God; fit progenitor of the race through whose poets and prophets the world has received its loftiest spiritual conceptions and its purest moral ideals. Though childless in old age, he calmly accepts the promise that his seed shall possess the land, and forsaking the comforts of a settled civilization moves out into an unknown future, secure in the confidence that every vision holds in itself the

seeds of fulfillment. The incidents of the birth of Ishmael to the Egyptian handmaid, of the sacrifice of Isaac on the altar of pagan superstition, serve to cut him off more completely from reliance on human foresight; to emphasize the principle that the real issues of destiny rest on forces far beyond our ken. The "faith" of Abraham is more than belief in a creed or a promise. It is the unshakable conviction that what should be must be, that all our planning and contriving is overruled by a Power beyond ourselves. Even the story of the judgment of Sodom is told to bring out the supreme insight that the Judge of all the earth must do right.

The somewhat negative personality of Isaac stands in marked contrast to the force and dignity of his father. Overshadowed by Abraham during his earlier manhood, browbeaten by his wife and cheated by his sons, he presents at first view a somewhat pitiful figure. Yet there is in him a simplicity and quiet loyalty not lacking in impressiveness. He seems somehow to live in a world of thought and purpose untouched by outward circumstance, a witness to the reality of deeper forces, handing on the torch of the divine Promise to the unborn generations with whom he is the connecting link.

It is in Jacob, however, that we come upon the unstable union of weakness and strength which is the hallmark of common humanity. Only once in a dozen generations is an Abraham born. The thoughtful, meditative Isaacs move unremarked in the background of common experience. But Jacob is a familiar figure of daily life. His counterpart is to be found in every market-place. He is the prototype of every hero of the fiction of adventure, the clever lad who gets into

trouble and has to run away from home to seek his fortune in a distant land, where he marries his employer's daughter, earns a controlling interest in the business, and comes home in triumph to redeem the mistakes of his youth and take his place as the most influential citizen in the community.

The tradition of the Jews found in Jacob their immediate ancestor. Ishmael of the desert likewise traced descent from Abraham. Edom also was sprung from Isaac. Moab and Ammon were kindred through Lot, Abraham's nephew. But the tribes who were the Children of the Promise were the Beni-Israel, descended from his twelve sons. In him they found the canny eye to the main chance, the not too scrupulous shrewdness, which less gifted races have attributed to the Jewish trader from that day to this. In him also they found the underlying idealism, the family loyalty, the patient steadfastness under adversity, the devout confidence in Jehovah's favor, which through the vicissitudes of forty centuries have been the strength of Jewish character, the patent of their nobility as the Chosen of God. The stories of the Patriarch are an epitome of Jewish life, its deep sentiment, its love of home and family, its intimate religious consciousness, not inconsistent with business enterprise. What love story in all literature has the charm of Jacob's devotion to Rachel, for whom he "served seven years, and they seemed to him but a few days, for the love he had to her"? What tragedy of sorrow is more touching than the death of his beloved at the birth of his youngest son, or the betrayal of his best-loved Joseph at the hand of his jealous brethren? One reads the tale for the hundredth time and finds in it still the charm, the poignancy, the intimate

humanness of experience which makes Jacob next-of-kin to us all.

And through the story of these three, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, we enter into an understanding of the patriarchal period of mankind as through no other history in the world. True, the land of Syria was no such empty world as appears in these traditions, through which the Hebrew Fathers and their clans move as in the naked void. It was the home of a civilization already ancient and of settled character. The traditional date of Abraham coincides with that of Hammurabi, the greatest lawgiver of the ancient world, behind whom lie hundreds, indeed thousands, of years of orderly life and established institutions. Yet these tales revivify for us the time when tribe and clan obeyed a common father, whose word was law, whose life was spent in service of his kinsmen and bond-servants. It is here that the foundation was laid for all those loyalties of obedience and mutual service upon which the whole development of civilization rests.

The story of Joseph introduces us to the other civilization of antiquity, older perhaps than that of Mesopotamia, the mystic splendor of Egypt. Once more we have a probable substratum of actual history, a Hebrew slave who rose to the rank of viceroy. We know that something like this happened during the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Hyksos invaders who ruled Egypt from the eighteenth to the sixteenth centuries B.C. were of nomadic origin, and would no doubt be hospitable to such kindred tribes as the Beni-Israel. Whether Joseph and his brethren came to Egypt during the Hyksos rule, or shortly after these had been driven out and the new empire was establishing itself, we have

no means of knowing. It is certain that the fiscal policy which Joseph is said to have set up in time of famine, whereby all the lands became the property of the crown, and the people themselves crown tenants, was actually in force under the Old Kingdom of the pyramid-builders, but had fallen into disuse through the centuries of feudalism which followed and which opened the way to the Hyksos invasion. This ancient policy was reëstablished by the new empire; whether through the genius of a single statesman like Joseph, or as the fruit of repeated efforts to strengthen the authority of the Pharaoh, our scanty knowledge of Egyptian history does not make clear. At all events it gave to the kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties a mastery such as no Egyptian ruler had enjoyed for centuries, and laid the foundations for the glories of the golden age of Egyptian culture. The story of Joseph, therefore, whether historical or not, is entirely possible, and furnishes once more a shorthand account of movements which actually transpired in the history of the time.

It is the character of Joseph, however, and the human interest of his adventures, which have given to the tale its perennial fascination, and make it one of the most perfect "short stories" in literature. The incidents of the hero's dramatic rise to power and his magnanimous treatment of his treacherous brethren are too well known to be recounted. The splendid integrity, the sincere devotion, the strength of purpose, the great-hearted wisdom of Joseph present a remarkable picture of a high-minded and noble gentleman, the first of a long succession of "poor boys who became famous." He is a statesman of rare breadth of vision, a representative of whom any race must be

proud. His story forms a fitting climax to the patriarchal history, and affords the transition to the tale of Egyptian bondage and the glorious exploits of Moses whereby the Chosen People escaped once more to the desert, to begin their successful struggle for national independence and power.

The use made of these ancient traditions by the religious teachers of the later time who cast the stories in their present form invested the Patriarchs with a lofty moral idealism and a clearness of religious insight which reflects the highly developed spiritual sense of the prophetic era. But it is not difficult to discern, beneath this veneer, the simple religious practices and the crude moral standards of primitive life. Abraham sees nothing inconsistent in human sacrifice. His wife is his half-sister. He lies like a gentleman with the mistaken idea of protecting both her and himself. Isaac must eat of his son's venison ere the power to pronounce the patriarchal blessing will come upon him. Jacob thinks of Jehovah as a local deity, left behind when he fled from Shechem to his uncle at Padan-aram, and is amazed to discover at Bethel that his god is there also, and will go with him on his travels. Rachel steals her father's household gods when she and her sister set out with their husband to return to Canaan. These "teraphim," or household deities, persisted for many centuries in the religious life of the common people. A divine being in human form meets Jacob at the ford of the Jabbok and seeks to prevent his crossing. Joseph finds the will of Jehovah revealed in dreams or through a divining-cup. Polygamy, concubinage, slavery, are found all through the narrative. The religious customs were as simple and primitive as the moral standards. The clan-father was also priest,

and offered his simple sacrifices of the firstlings of the flock or the first-fruits of the harvest.

It must not be forgotten that the sea of experience upon which the Hebrews set sail when their great ancestor obeyed the call to dare an unknown future was by no means uncharted. He left behind him an orderly and fruitful civilization to whose commercial development and balanced sense of human right the Code of Hammurabi bears witness. That Code, inscribed on a huge block of stone and set up in the temple of Shamash the sun-god about 2300 B.C., must have had behind it centuries of business and political experience. It is remarkable for the protection afforded to the weak and oppressed, to the rights of wives and children, as well as for the sound principles of commercial justice it embodied. In words which every lawmaker and judge would do well to consider, the great king declares his purpose in publishing the Law:

The oppressed who has a suit to prosecute may come to my image, that of a righteous king, and read my inscription and understand my precious words, and may my stele elucidate his case. Let him see the law he seeks, and may he draw his breath and say, This Hammurabi was a ruler who was to his people like the father who begot them.

In other respects the ideals of ancient Babylonia were less praiseworthy. Their government was a military despotism, their religion a nature-worship with a decidedly unwholesome emphasis upon the powers of creation and reproduction. The motives which impelled Abraham and his clan to emigrate were not greatly different from those which moved the Pilgrim

fathers: larger economic opportunity and freedom "to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience." Whatever elements of a legendary character may have been added to the story, the persistence of the tradition bears witness to the presence of the religious motive. There was in this particular clan an instinct which drove them to seek for liberty to develop their own institutions and to learn their own lessons of right and social justice. They carried with them some knowledge of Babylonian law, and also, no doubt, a considerable deposit of myth and folklore which furnished a basis for their own folk-songs and religious myths. The naïve notions concerning the origin of things which ultimately found expression in the prose-epic of the Creation in the early chapters of Genesis were undoubtedly drawn from the Babylonian cosmogony. But the freedom of the desert enabled them to work out their own destiny, and the moral and religious ideals which they eventually achieved owe little to Babylonia.

It was in the life of the patriarchal clan that the Beni-Israel learned their first lessons of social order. That life was that of the family on a larger scale—a family free from all external allegiance so long as it was able to defend itself against other similar groups and move freely from one pasturage to another. All outside the clan were enemies until their friendship was proven. Within the clan the law of self-preservation was "each for all and all for each." A wrong done by one member to another weakened the clan and met with swift punishment. A wrong done by an outsider to any single member was a wrong to the clan, and called for corporate vengeance. The individual had no existence save as a member of the clan. He lived

in and for it. The weakest had behind him the united strength of the entire body. The strongest held his strength at the service of the whole. Property for the most part was held in common. The clan-father was ruler and judge. His word was law, and from his decisions there was no appeal. Yet he held his power, as he held his possessions, in the interest of all. His must be a benevolent despotism or all will perish. As the patriarchal family expanded into the tribe the limits of social interest were extended, but their fundamental character was unchanged.

In such a social order the reverence for family ties, the sense of solidarity, of social responsibility within the limits of the clan, must be paramount. No better training-school for the development of social ideals could be devised. The family is the only real democracy, in which the youngest and the weakest is the equal of all, so far as his claim upon the resources of the entire group is concerned. It is in the thousand years of desert experience that we find the source of the fierce loyalty, the fundamental democracy, the social consciousness particularly as regards the poor and helpless of his own race, which marks the Jew even to the present time.

CHAPTER II

OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE

A SILENT gap of several centuries intervenes after the story of the death of Joseph. When we again take up the tale we are on the verge of actual history. Up to this point we have been dealing with a little patriarchal clan whose idealized experiences have been compressed into picturesque, dramatic biographical sketches of its leaders. There now emerges from the Wilderness south of the Dead Sea a group of warlike tribes who swarm upon the decadent cities of Canaan and in the course of a couple of centuries make themselves masters of the fertile crescent, from the maritime plain to the mountains of Moab, and from the borders of Egypt to Armenia. They bring with them not only traditions of descent from that ancient family of nomads which in past ages drifted through the land with its flocks and herds, but also the lively recollection of a period of Egyptian bondage, and of an escape so remarkable that they can account for it only by the resistless intervention of their ancestral God. The agency through which this escape is accomplished is the commanding personality of Moses.

The background of the tale is the oppressive policy of Ramses II, known as The Great, who ruled Egypt

during the greater part of the thirteenth century B.C. This ambitious and energetic monarch, after well-nigh exhausting the resources of his empire in a fruitless struggle to reestablish Egyptian ascendancy in western Asia, undertook to impress his power and glory upon future ages by outdoing his predecessors in the building of costly monuments and temples, even going so far as to erase the names of ancient builders and to substitute his own. In carrying on these great works he had recourse to the policy of enforced labor, and naturally made use of the Hebrew tribes whose forebears had been settled by Joseph in Goshen.

Although nothing has so far been discovered in Egyptian records regarding the presence of the Hebrews or the events of the Exodus, the tradition plays too great a part in later Jewish thought not to have been grounded in reality. However encrusted with accretions of myth and legend, there can be little doubt that the main outline of events was accurately preserved. Once more a man of obscure birth, the son of Hebrew slaves, rose to a position of prominence at the Egyptian court, and received the benefit of the finest education that ancient civilization could afford. Led by sympathy with his oppressed kinsmen to actions which brought him into conflict with the Egyptian authorities, he was driven into exile, whence after a number of years he returned to become the leader of Hebrew revolt.

The mad extravagance of Ramses had impoverished the nation. Hordes of slave workmen, toiling under the lash and living together in the most unsanitary conditions, were the inevitable victims of a succession of "plagues" which seemed to a superstitious age the visitations of an angry deity. Doubtless the Hebrews,

living in a favored section of the Delta, and endowed by their former nomadic life with a stamina which enabled them to resist infection, suffered less from these plagues than their neighbors. Their shrewd leader took advantage of the situation to impress upon the Egyptian monarch the wrath of the Hebrew God, and demanded that his people be set free. The climax came when pestilence overran the country until every Egyptian household mourned its dead. The terrified people begged to be relieved of the presence of the foreigners whose deity displayed such malign power, and the king, no less impressed than his subjects, was forced to yield. The slave-horde made good its escape, and though pursued by the armies of Pharaoh, took advantage of a fortunate windstorm which blew back the shallow waters of the Bitter Lakes, and crossing to the mountainous desert of Sinai found freedom in the wilderness.

The Jewish mind never took account of what we call secondary causes. It knew nothing of natural law. Every event in nature was to it the direct action of Jehovah. Modern science finds nothing either supernatural or unbelievable in the events which made possible the escape of the Israelites. But this succession of providential disasters made so profound an impression upon the Hebrew imagination that to the end of their history the Beni-Israel never ceased to believe that Jehovah set them free "with a strong hand and a mighty arm." They saw in this deliverance the ratification of the ancient Covenant made with Abraham, and were confirmed in their faith in a divine destiny. The ancient spring festival was early connected with the visitation of the pestilence upon the Egyptians, and the Passover even yet celebrated is a standing witness

to the place of this tradition in the life of the Hebrew race.

Not even the majestic figure of Abraham so stamped itself upon the imagination of his race as did that of Moses, their leader in this supreme crisis. The Jew of later time traced to him his jurisprudence, his social ideals, his moral precepts, even the ritual forms of the Temple worship. This is manifestly absurd. The life of Israel developed under the impact of historical experience as naturally as that of other nations. The critical student has little difficulty in tracing the stages of this development and in distinguishing the successive strata imbedded in the so-called Mosaic Law. Nevertheless we cannot escape the conviction that it was Moses who gave to the Hebrew nation its initial bent and character.

Stripped of all accretions, the Hebrew tradition reveals in Moses a man of amazing wisdom, energy and moral power. He took a horde of escaped slaves and gave them a measure of coherence and an ordered life. He organized a fighting force, established a system of tribal courts, centralized the religious worship, and for many years led his people through the desert until they had become thoroughly inured to their new life and acquired sufficient of disciplined strength to attempt the conquest of the Promised Land. Tradition relates that the horde encamped for several years at the foot of the sacred mountain of Sinai, while their leader brought order out of chaos and gave them the groundwork of a moral and social order. A preliminary reconnaissance of the land of Canaan so discouraged them with the difficulties confronting them that they turned back and remained in the desert for more than a

generation, ere they acquired the hardihood to renew the historic adventure.

Doubtless the achievements of the great lawgiver owed much to his unusual preparation. The Egypt of Ramses was at the height of her glory—the disastrous effects of that monarch's policies were not apparent until the time of his successor. The origins of Egyptian civilization were even then lost in hoary antiquity. The pyramids were as old to Moses as the Coliseum to us. For two thousand years the priests of Egypt had been adepts in science, in philosophy. Her craftsmen were masters of lost arts. Homer in the *Odyssey* tells us that the humblest Egyptian of this period knew more of medical science than the wisest doctors of Greece. Religion was closely intertwined with every phase of daily life. But a century before, the attempted religious reforms of Ikhnoton had lifted up the ideal of an ethical momotheism to which the tradition of the Hebrews was closely akin.

The dreary monotony, the relentless cruelty, the fathomless silence of the desert wastes which stretch without limit on either side of the narrow ribbon of fertile plain which is Egypt could not fail to leave their impress through thousands of years upon the Egyptian imagination. The cloudless sky—for rain, except in the Delta, is almost unknown—the undimmed splendor of the sun, the silver glory of the moon, the solemn march of the nightly stars added their wonder and mystery. “Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge.” Is it surprising that the religious conceptions of Egypt should have in them so much of solemn majesty, or that the gods of their pantheon should come to be but the varying symbols of the one unutterable mystery of the Infinite, the All?

Can we wonder that the religious thought of the Hebrews should find its first formal expression at the mouth of one who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians"?

The years of exile in the deserts of Midian added their priceless gift of uninterrupted thought and meditation. Here, amid the vast silences, Moses brooded upon all that he had been taught; upon the philosophy of his Egyptian masters, upon the traditions of his people which he had absorbed at his mother's knee. It was then that dreams of liberty for his enslaved kinsmen took shape in his mind, that the Promise of Jehovah to his fathers became the basis for high resolve. Small wonder that the thorn-bush of the desert came to glow with the living fire of the divine Presence, and that in the end Moses went back to Egypt, armed with the irresistible authority of a supreme purpose.

Many and interesting are the tales told by tradition of the period of Israel's wandering in the Wilderness; of the enemies who beset them, of the conquests they achieved, and above all of the turbulence and wilfulness of the people whereby the soul of their leader was tried to its depths. The more we read them, the more are we impressed with the strength, the courage, the unparalleled leadership of Moses. He must have been a man of amazing physical endurance. We read that even in extreme old age "his eye was not dim, neither was his natural force abated." However the idealization of centuries may have magnified his virtues, we find in him one of the noblest and most inspiring figures in history. His spiritual insight, the soundness of his political instinct, the essential democracy of the institutions he established, combine to place him at the

head of the lawgivers of mankind. His influence, after the lapse of three thousand years, is felt to-day in every court-room and legislative assembly, and every advance in political and social organization bears witness to his colossal genius.

The career of this extraordinary man finds a fitting close in the Hebrew story. After a lifetime of unremitting toil, bearing the crushing burden of responsibility for these stiff-necked and turbulent tribes, the worn-out hero climbs the lonely crest of Nebo, overlooking the Dead Sea, whence the panorama of the Promised Land spreads out before his vision. His work is finished. Because at one point the stubborn folly of his people had broken even his vast patience and his temper had flamed forth, he was forbidden to go further. In this remote spot, unseen of human eyes, he lays down his burden and is gathered to his fathers. The angels of God found him a resting-place, and "no man knoweth his sepulchre unto this day."

The period of bondage in Egypt left ineradicable traces in the Hebrew laws and social traditions. Here the Israelite had his own experience of oppression and hopeless suffering, which planted deep in his consciousness the seeds of social sympathy. Again and again the humane provisions of the Hebrew law touching the bondman and the hired laborer are enforced with the words, "Remember that thou also wast a bondman in Egypt." No other legislation in ancient times reveals so keen a sense of social justice. The Jew was forbidden to take interest from his poorer brethren. The hireling was to receive his wages daily, or as soon as his work was finished. If a man pledged his garment as security for a loan it must be given back to him at

nightfall, that he might not lack a covering for his bed. If he sold himself as a slave to his more prosperous countryman he must be manumitted at the end of seven years, unless for some good reason he chose to abide in perpetual slavery. The rights of female slaves and of children born in slavery were carefully guarded. Many of these laws, formerly attributed to Moses, were undoubtedly the product of the influence of the prophets of later times, and reflect the growing ethical insight of the prophetic movement; but they were none the less the outgrowth of the social spirit stamped upon Hebrew jurisprudence by the lawgiver of Sinai, and find their roots in the experience of the oppression.

Probably other phases of Hebrew life also reflected the influence of Egypt. The religious tabus, many of which are essentially sanitary regulations, may be based on Egyptian medical practice and knowledge of sanitation. The use of the golden calf as a symbol of Jehovah, which was stamped out by Moses in the Wilderness only to reappear in later times in northern Israel, was no doubt derived from the worship of the bull-god Apis. The social and family life of the Hebrew tribes must also have been influenced by those centuries of settled conditions in the fertile borders of the Delta. But the most important fruit of the Egyptian sojourn was the awakened social consciousness which made the Hebrew law the most enlightened in the world, and enabled the prophets to enforce their loftiest visions of social justice by appeal to the race memories of Egyptian bondage.

The Ten Commandments which tradition attributed to the special revelation of Jehovah to Moses at Mount Sinai, but which in their final form, as found

in the twentieth chapter of Exodus and the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy, were undoubtedly the product of the prophetic movement of the seventh and eighth centuries, and were substituted by post-exilic scribes for the primitive code found in Exodus xxxiv, are in effect a magna charta of social justice. The first two tie up the moral ideals of the Jewish race with the lofty spiritual monotheism of their religion. All the rest are essentially social in their bearing. The Third Commandment, with its prohibition of false swearing (which has nothing whatever to do with profanity) protects the fundamental social nexus of confidence and mutual loyalty. The Sabbath Law is the oldest piece of labor legislation in history, the first limitation upon the hours of labor. The Fifth and the Seventh Commandments protect the family; the Sixth and Eighth, life and property; the Ninth, that good name which is more precious than rubies. The Tenth, with a psychological insight generally supposed to be a modern discovery, finds the root of all evil in wrong motives and unlawful desires, and strikes directly at that spirit of covetous greed which is the fruitful source of social anarchy and the world's eternal wars.

The influences which led the scribes who assembled the scattered fragments of ancient writings into the form of our present Hebrew Bible after the Captivity to attribute to Moses not only the authorship of the legal codes, but also organization of the priestly order and the minute regulations of religious ritual, cannot be fully comprehended apart from the study of post-exilic conditions. Just now we can only recognize the fact, and point out that the religious customs of the Beni-Israel at the time they entered the Land of

Canaan were still extremely primitive. At the same time there is no doubt that Moses gave to the tribes who followed him out of Egypt the beginnings of an organized religious life. It was natural enough for a central shrine to be erected as a rallying-point; and for an ordered priesthood and a formal worship, influenced no doubt by the customs of Egypt, to give dignity and authority to the religious sanctions with which the regulations of the newly constructed civic order were enforced. The movable "Tent of the Congregation" in which the Ark of the Covenant, the visible symbol of Jehovah's presence, was housed, was set up after the conquest at Shiloh, and remained for more than a century the focal-point in the religious worship of the central tribes.

More important than the formal worship instituted by Moses was the impression of Jehovah's supreme power and authority which was stamped upon the popular imagination by the events of the Exodus. While to the common people He was still little more than a tribal deity, related to Israel as Baal to the Canaanites or Chemosh to the Moabites, nevertheless He was manifestly a more powerful god than those of Egypt or Canaan, and in the recognition of His supreme leadership there was implicit the germ of a purer spiritual conception. Jehovah is King of kings and Lord of lords, and despite the naïve anthropomorphism which conceived of Him as writing the Law with His finger upon the tables of stone, or showing his back to Moses in the mountain because the view of His face would be too overpowering for any human vision, the Jehovah of Sinai reveals a majesty and authority, and above all an ethical character, worthy of all reverence. There can be no doubt that the spir-

itual insight of Moses gave to the deeper thought of his people a conception of God far beyond the reach of the common mind, but capable of becoming at the hand of the later prophets the vision of infinite holiness and spiritual power.

CHAPTER III

THE BIRTH OF A NATION

WITH the death of Moses, the leadership of the Beni-Israel naturally devolved upon the military chieftain who had been the lawgiver's lieutenant, and commander of the fighting forces. Joshua appears in the record as a blunt, forthright soldier, without much imagination but with a sturdy loyalty and unshakable integrity which appeals strongly to the historical student. The objective with which the tribes set forth from Egypt was the Land of Canaan, promised to their fathers and confirmed to Moses at Sinai, wherefore Joshua headed straight for the Jordan fords.

Later centuries, looking backward, saw the period of the conquest greatly foreshortened, and told the story in the Book of Joshua as though it had been completely achieved in a single campaign under his leadership. But the older history recorded in the Book of Judges reveals a long period of struggle, first with the settled inhabitants, and later with the surrounding nations who resented the presence of the newcomers, or thought to take advantage of the unsettled conditions to acquire further territory for themselves. For more than a century the Hebrews dwelt side by side with the Canaanites, sometimes peaceably, more often in conflict; learning from their neighbors the new trade of agriculture, adopting many local customs, worshiping at the shrines and offering sacrifices indis-

criminally to Jehovah or to the baals of the fields. There was serious danger that Canaan would conquer the Israelites by absorption, as England conquered the Normans. The common people never ceased to be influenced by the surrounding paganism, and the shrines persisted for five hundred years.

But the Jew has a birthright of race integrity. Though he has absorbed the blood of many races in many lands, he is still a Jew, after the lapse of thirty centuries. His leaders and spiritual teachers during this trying period fought the degrading influences of the pagan worship with unrelenting vigilance, and suffered the people never to forget for a moment the Covenant of Jehovah with their Father Abraham, nor the mighty works wherewith He had brought them forth from the house of bondage. It was with the purpose of inspiring a deeper loyalty that the people were constantly regaled with the traditions of the patriarchs, and the deeds of Moses and Joshua, which form the groundwork of the Old Testament histories.

The Land of Canaan consists principally of a mountainous ridge between the deep cleft of the Jordan valley and the Mediterranean. It begins in the broken country below the Dead Sea, and rises to a height of over four thousand feet in the first few miles. The southern end of this ridge is extremely broken, but farther north the hills broaden and the valleys are more open. Midway the ridge is cut abruptly by the Plain of Esdraelon, which gives access to the Sea at the foot of the Carmel promontory. To the north of the Plain the hills rise gradually once more to the heights of Hermon and the Lebanon Range.

The possession of this territory by the Beni-Israel

was in reality a process of infiltration rather than conquest. It is quite probable that some of the northern tribes never were in Egypt at all, but had made their way into the hills some generations before the general movement. At the outset there was little coöperation or unity of effort. Fully a fourth of the tribes never crossed the Jordan at all, but settled with their flocks and herds on the broad grazing-ground afforded by the eastern plateau, where they were all but absorbed by Ammon and Moab. Judah and Simeon forced their way up the steep wadies which penetrate the southern hills, and were cut off from their northern kinsmen by a line of Jebusite strongholds in the vicinity of Jerusalem which were not reduced until the time of David. This barrier left a lasting cleavage in the national history, resulting in the final division of Solomon's empire, and the survival of the southern tribes for a century and a half after the destruction of the northern kingdom.

Ephraim and Benjamin settled in the more hospitable valleys of the central section. They in turn were separated from their northern neighbors by the Plain of Esdraelon, where the Canaanites concentrated their forces as they gradually withdrew before the increasing strength of the invaders. With horses and chariots of iron they defied the primitive weapons of the Israelites for many years, and from a chain of strongholds on the flanks of Carmel harried them without mercy until the dramatic battle of Megiddo brought the struggle to an end.

The lesser tribes were grouped around their more powerful kinsmen, or found room in the northern valleys. They bore a comparatively insignificant part in the struggles of the infant nation, and on their borders

were being continually absorbed into the surrounding life.

As in the patriarchal period, the history of the national struggle is told in a series of vivid and dramatic biographies, of the most fascinating interest. Legendary embellishments are mingled with a traditional narrative which evidently comes from contemporary sources, and affords a convincing picture of the life and customs of the time. Fragments of ancient ballads and frequent references to lost collections known as the "Book of Jasher" and the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" suggest that the history was originally preserved in the form of folk-poetry, and was long after reduced to prose. Nothing could exceed the human value of these delightful tales. If at times the imaginative poetry of the older form becomes literal matter of fact in the prose version, as in the command of Joshua to the sun to stay his course that Israel might continue the slaughter of the Lord's foes, it is redeemed by the vividness and naïvete of the narrative, the intimate knowledge with which the life and manners, the moral standards, the religious customs, even the superstitions of primitive Israel are portrayed.

In the story of the Canaanite oppression and the victory of Deborah and Barak, the prose version and the original ballad tale stand side by side, to our great benefit. The one gives us a vivid picture of the historical situation, the resolve of the prophetess to free her people, her summoning of Barak, a young man with some military experience, as the leader, subject always to her wise counsels. The strategy by which the enemy are lured across the river onto the soft alluvial plain where their chariots are helpless, and then met with a swift onslaught before they can disentangle themselves

from the confusion of the crossing, while a providential thunderstorm adds to their discomfiture until defeat ends in utter rout, is worthy of Cæsar himself. The treacherous murder of the Canaanite general by a woman friendly to the Israelites is baldly told. The ballad version which follows sums up the story of the battle with vivid imagery and pious enthusiasm. The whole furnishes us with an insight into the anarchy of the period, the passionate patriotism of the Hebrew leaders, the supine selfishness of the average tribesmen, and above all the primitive ethics and naïve religious conceptions of this early time.

The triumphal victory of Megiddo freed the Hebrew invaders from the threat of expulsion or absorption, gave them possession of the fertile Plain of Esdraelon, and opened the paths of communication with the northern tribes. At the same time it quickened the jealous hostility of the surrounding nations. Already Moab had made hostile demonstrations which were only quenched by the assassination of the Moabitish king at the hand of a Hebrew patriot. The Midianites, nomads from the desert coasts of the Red Sea, thought to do to Israel what the latter had done to the Canaanites, and invaded the central hills, whence they were routed by the shrewd strategy of Gideon, a young farmer of Ephraim. Ammon swept down from the highland of Gilead, beyond Jordan, but they were turned back by the valor of Jephthah, the leader of a band of outlaws who were called to service in the emergency. The half-mythical hero Samson, the Hebrew Hercules, lived on the border of Philistia, against whose inhabitants his prowess was directed until he was caught through the treachery of his Philistine wife and delivered into the hands of his enemies.

The character-drawing of these brief historical portraits is inimitable. The homely loyalty of the sturdy soldier Joshua, the salty wisdom of goodwife Deborah, "a mother in Israel," the simplicity of farmer Gideon, the lawless wilfulness of Jephthah, the headstrong folly and sardonic humor of Samson, are sketched with swift, sure strokes. Behind and through the tales we see the historical development taking shape, the steady hammering of ruthless foes, whereby the Hebrew tribes are driven into closer coöperation until they can be welded into unity.

Even in this earliest period of the Hebrew occupation of the Promised Land, we begin to note the operation of two forces which were destined to become paramount in the life of the nation: the growing influence of the priesthood, and the rise of the prophetic order.

Our actual knowledge of the religious and social organization during this turbulent period is fragmentary in the extreme, but what little we can gather from the historical tradition indicates that religious customs were still highly informal. There is not the slightest trace of the elaborate hierarchy and the scrupulous ritual observances attributed to the organizing genius of Moses. In most households the father was still the family priest, and a certain Ephraimite farmer was highly elated when chance enabled him to secure the services of a Levite, which he felt sure would bring him good luck. No doubt the struggle to hold the Israelites from the religious practices of their pagan neighbors lent prestige and influence to the priests of Jehovah. At all events, within little more than a century after the passing of the Jordan we find a high-priest serving as judge of the entire nation, while

his sons conducted the offices of the central shrine, the ancient "Tent of the Congregation" from Wilderness days, set up by Joshua at Shiloh. Hither the farmers of Ephraim were wont to bring their families once a year to offer sacrifice and join in the religious feast.

The son of such a household, born in answer to prayer, was dedicated by his mother to the service of Jehovah, and as soon as he was old enough to leave her was brought to the shrine to serve as acolyte. The young Samuel, the story of whose birth and childhood is one of the most charming of all the Hebrew tales, became both priest and prophet, and throughout his lifetime was the supreme judge and ruler of Israel.

Distinguished from, and often opposed to the priests, were the prophets.

The prophets of Israel were a unique order, the like of which was not known among any other people. Though at the outset little more than soothsayers and fortune-tellers, they seem as a class to have been made up of men more than ordinarily sensitive to the mysteries of experience through which belief in spiritual realities comes to the human mind. By the time of Samuel we find them gathered together in strolling bands like the dervishes of Arabia, cultivating religious ecstasy through music and dancing. A hundred years later we find them living in cenobitic communities along the Jordan, like the Essenes of later Judaism or the monks of medieval Christianity. Samuel seems to have made use of them to spread the spirit of patriotic loyalty among the people. Later Elijah and Elisha employed them in the work of religious education, as well as in laying the groundwork of political revolution.

Quite distinct, however, from these "sons of the prophets" were the outstanding men of mystical gifts and still greater spiritual insight who were the real leaders of Israel's religious development. Often, as insight advanced, the greater prophets found themselves in direct and bitter opposition to the professional seers, and rated them roundly as false and lying ministers of the divine Word. Moses himself was regarded by the Jews of later times as the chief of the prophets, and an ancient tradition told of a man of prophetic gift among the Moabites, in the days when the Beni-Israel were massing for the invasion of Canaan. The terrified king of Moab sent for this man, Balaam the son of Beor, to pronounce a curse upon the invading host. The prophet, however, was compelled to utter the words which were given him, and which proved a blessing instead of a curse upon the people of Jehovah.

Samuel was the first in the life of the new nation to hold this station between Jehovah and His people. It was said that even in his boyhood he received directly from the Lord a word of warning for Eli, chief priest and judge of the nation. Throughout his long life he was known as "The Prophet," and he ruled Israel in the authority of Jehovah's word. The story of Samuel's career throws great light upon the true function of the prophet in the thought of ancient Israel.

Of all the enemies who opposed the national development of the tribes of Israel, the most dangerous and persistent were the Philistines. From all that we can learn of this warlike people, they seem to have been originally a colony of Greek pirates who were

driven out of Crete by the Dorian invasion not long before Israel escaped from Egypt. They sought a foothold in the borders of Egypt, but were expelled, and finally took refuge on the maritime plain north of the Isthmus of Suez. Here they built five important strongholds, from which they harried the mountain region for two centuries, overrunning the country to such an extent as eventually to give their name to the whole of western Syria, still known as "Palestine."

In the days of Samson they still lived on fairly peaceful terms with their Israelite neighbors, though their bullying aggressiveness led to frequent clashes. Although he was more or less at war with them, Samson married first one, and later a second Philistine wife. The exploits of the hero did little more than accentuate the growing ill-feeling between the two peoples, and in the judgeship of Eli this unfriendliness developed into open war. While Samuel was still a youth the armies of Israel were disastrously defeated. The Ark of the Covenant, the most sacred possession of the Hebrews, was captured by the enemy, and the shrine at Shiloh was destroyed. The old priest died of shock upon hearing the news of this disaster, and the leadership of the Chosen People devolved upon the young prophet-priest.

Although Samuel is said to have led the Israelites in one campaign in which by the help of a providential hailstorm an overwhelming defeat was inflicted upon the Philistines, this proved but a brief respite, and during the greater part of the prophet's life his people suffered keenly from the oppression of their southern neighbor.

During all this period Samuel ministered to the

people as priest and judge, moving throughout the land, holding his simple court, administering the law, conducting religious worship, and all the while instilling into the tribes the necessity for coöperation and eventual unity. He was famed for his clairvoyant powers, by reason of which he was known as "The Seer"; but his true gift was not second-sight but insight. He was a man of remarkable force of character, a born leader of men, and he had withal a statesman's vision. Though he cherished the ancient liberties of the Hebrew democracy, he saw clearly the necessity for a strong central government if Israel would survive, and in the end he became the king-maker of Israel, calling first Saul and afterward David to the leadership of the Chosen Race, and as long as he lived inspiring them to complete the conquest of their ancient enemies. It was the wisdom and strength of Samuel which more than anything else finally brought about the unification of the tribes and the establishment of the national life.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF GLORY

THE actual history of the Israelites as a nation is comprised in the biographies of three kings whose combined reigns covered little more than a century.

No doubt the prophet Samuel had been searching for years for the man of the hour, the leader to whom the destinies of the consolidated tribes might be intrusted. When a young Benjamite farmer named Saul came to consult him in his capacity as clairvoyant, the insight of the experienced judge saw in the youth the capacities he sought. He detained the young man as his guest during a religious festival, and the next day took him up to the housetop of his mountain home, whence he could point out in every direction Hebrew cities cowering under the oppressive rule of the Philistines. We read that at this time the Hebrew farmers were not even permitted to maintain a smithy for the sharpening of plows and mattocks, lest they forge weapons against their oppressors; but were compelled to take their farm implements to Philistine smiths. Having fired the heart of the impulsive Saul with the desire to free his people from this burdensome yoke, the prophet solemnly anointed him king, and forthwith set about to secure his election. A gathering of the chief men of the nation was called

and the sacred lot was cast. As a result, the responsibilities of leadership were laid upon the shoulders of this untried farmer's son. Saul accepted his honors with becoming modesty, and under the advice of the prophet waited an occasion to assume the burden of authority.

This was presently furnished when the Ammonites captured one of the cities of Gilead. The young monarch displayed remarkable energy and decision in meeting the crisis, and the result was the signal defeat of the Ammonite army. Saul immediately set to work to establish his authority, and during the next few years showed himself a real king. He enlisted and trained a small standing army, reënforced with volunteers for the more important campaigns. He established his headquarters in one of the central towns, and as rapidly as possible inspired his people with courage to fight. In a remarkably short time the Philistines were driven back within their own borders, and Saul turned his attention to the rest of the hostile ring which so long thwarted the national ambitions of the Hebrew tribes. One after another, he fought them to a standstill, utterly annihilating the Amalekites, an ancient foe which had opposed the Exodus. Though the Philistines were not conquered, they were held in check for a number of years, while the youthful nation consolidated its organization and developed something of a national spirit.

The Bible stories do less than justice to the achievements of Saul. It is true that in the end he failed to maintain his leadership and closed his life in defeat and despair. Yet his real accomplishments were considerable, and they laid the foundation upon which the greater triumphs of David were based. His weak-

nesses were temperamental, and were more his misfortune than his fault. To the end of his reign he held the loyalty of his people. Even David loved him and was as loyal as the half-mad king would permit.

From the outset of his career Saul displayed a certain temperamental instability. On the way home from his first visit with Samuel, thrilled to the depths with the dreams the prophet had put in his head, he met a strolling band of prophetic enthusiasts and was swept off his feet by uncontrollable emotion. He joined the band and for several days was out of his head with religious ecstasy. His first campaign as monarch was undertaken in a fit of ungovernable rage. For all his energy and ability, he was also headstrong and impulsive. He soon grew restive under the desire of Samuel to retain the direction of national policy, and at the height of his power broke with the prophet altogether. In so doing, however, he reckoned without the prestige of the aged leader as the authoritative representative of Jehovah. Beneath his self-assertion he had an uneasy consciousness that he had forfeited Jehovah's favor. His nervous malady increased, and he began to be subject to fits of melancholy, alternating with outbursts of insane rage. His later years were largely spent in hunting down imagined disloyalty; and when the Philistines, taking advantage of the situation, renewed their ancient warfare, Saul was unable to check their advance. In a final disastrous battle at Mount Gilboa the armies of Israel were completely routed, and the king and his favorite son Jonathan were slain. Their decapitated bodies were exposed on the walls of the Philistine fortress. It was the men of Jabesh-Gilead, that city whose rescue from the Ammonites forty years before was

Saul's initial exploit, who went by night to rescue the body of the king and give it honorable burial.

It was with profound sorrow that Samuel became convinced of the fatal weakness of his protégé and set about the discovery of a new leader. He found the man he wanted in David, a shepherd lad of Bethlehem, a village of Judah. He secretly anointed him for his high destiny and secured him a post at Saul's court. The young man more than fulfilled his highest expectations. For a time he became a favorite of Saul himself, and his popularity with the army grew by leaps and bounds. The inevitable result was to incur the jealous hostility of the monarch, so that in a few years David was driven into outlawry, and finally exile. His secret stronghold on the border of the southern desert became the rendezvous of an outlaw band, and he lived the life of a Robin Hood, harrying the enemies of his people and making friends where he could among the southern tribes. Though eventually driven to take refuge among the Philistines, he successfully avoided any hostile activity against his countrymen, and bided his time. His opportunity came with the defeat and death of Saul. David promptly appeared with his followers among his own tribesmen of Judah, who acclaimed him and accepted him as king. The young son of Saul who was placed by the army upon his father's throne proved a weakling. In a few years he was put out of the way and the entire nation besought David to become their ruler.

No man in their history so impressed himself upon the affectionate memory of his race as did David. To the qualities of leadership, both as warrior and states-

man, he added a personal magnetism which bound men to him with almost idolatrous affection. The love which sprung up between him and Saul's knightly son Jonathan has passed into a proverb with that of Damon and Pythias. His magnanimous loyalty to Saul, even when the mad king was hunting him through the mountains like a partridge, reveals true greatness of soul. Himself a fighter of no mean prowess, he gathered around him a group of seasoned warriors who led the armies of Israel in an unbroken series of successful campaigns. In a few years the power of the hostile ring was broken forever, and peace was brought to the people of Israel for the first, perhaps the only, time in their history. In the meantime the young monarch conciliated the partisans of Saul, organized the government, promulgated laws and created courts. He brought the fiscal affairs of the nation into order, and with the wealth that presently began to flow in from his conquests began the beautification of his capital, the ancient Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem which for two centuries had defied the Hebrew invader. The Philistines were finally defeated, and never again threatened the life of the nation. The surrounding peoples were laid under tribute, including even Syria, whose ancient capital Damascus remains to this day the sole monument of an almost forgotten civilization. From the "river of Egypt" to the head waters of the Euphrates David ruled as king and overlord. The Covenant with Abraham was fulfilled, and the land through which the Patriarchs wandered dwelling in tents had become the possession of their children.

The whole history of David reads like a romance. To be sure, he was a child of his time. His faults were

many and great, his sins as dramatic as his virtues. But the good so far outweighed the bad in the minds of those who remembered the glories of his reign that they pictured him as "a man after God's own heart," the type and forerunner of the Ideal King whom the prophets foresaw, who in after time should set up the everlasting Kingdom of Jehovah upon David's throne. That he was a poet and musician as well as warrior and ruler there can be little doubt, though modern criticism has established the late date of most of the Psalms which tradition ascribed to his pen. He added to the religious tradition of Israel the element of emotional exaltation. The warm humanness of his character draws him close to the heart of every reader of the ancient story, and he brings the long struggle of the Hebrew tribes to a fitting and dramatic climax.

The elements of myth and legend which encrust the older historic traditions almost disappear from the history of this Golden Age. So vivid is the narrative that we come as close to the personalities of Saul and David as to those of Hannibal and Cæsar, and are enabled to evaluate their historic achievements with reasonable confidence in the justness of our conclusions.

The moral standards of the time are still sufficiently crude and primitive. Relentless cruelty in warfare is taken for granted. Even so impressive a moral leader as Samuel enjoins the annihilation of the Amalekites, and upon the soft-hearted failure of Saul proceeds to "hew Agag in pieces before Jehovah." David causes his enemies to pass "under harrows of iron." Polygamy is common, Samuel himself being the son of a beloved but hitherto childless wife, whose

more prolific rival made her life a burden with jeers and reproaches. David, with the access of wealth, begins to emulate his pagan neighbors by enlarging his harem and bringing the debilitating luxuries of oriental despotism into his court.

Religious customs are also primitive. Sacrifices are permitted at the local shrines, but there is growing evidence of an official priesthood. The first offense of Saul lay in his failure to wait for the coming of Samuel to offer the sacrifices before entering on an important campaign. David desired to build a temple at Jerusalem, to be the official center of the religious life, but was forbidden because of his warlike career. He brought the Ark of the Covenant home to his capital after its long sojourn, first among the hostile Philistines, and later, when it brought its captors continued ill-luck, in the home of a border farmer. He had an official chief-priest, and no doubt began the organization of a more elaborate worship which laid the foundations for Solomon's more ambitious Temple.

It is the prophets, however, who during this whole period are the supreme representatives of Jehovah. Samuel, so long as he lived, remained the power behind the throne. Gad and Nathan were the "king's conscience" during David's reign. The telling rebuke which the latter administered to David after the cowardly murder of Uriah the Hittite, a member of the king's chosen order of knighthood, by placing him "in the forefront of the battle" that the king might possess the wife whom he had already seduced, is a masterpiece of moral insight and lofty courage.

The closing years of David's reign were darkened by the increasing extravagance of the monarch, whose

wealth and power had gone to his head; and by a succession of insurrections, one of which, headed by the king's favorite son Absalom, drove David to headlong flight and well-nigh cost him his throne. In the end it was the prophet Nathan who saved the situation by insisting that Solomon, upon whom David had determined to devolve the royal power, be crowned during his father's lifetime, and a new régime inaugurated while the shadow of David's former authority still persisted.

The summer of Israel's national existence attained its brief splendor in the glories of Solomon's reign. The young king inherited his father's physical beauty, his ambition and his gift of organization. There was born in him, however, no taste for military glory, and no conception of his high duty as servant of his people. Brought up at the court during his father's later years, when increase of wealth and power had brought new luxury and extravagance into Hebrew life, the youthful prince acquired a taste for oriental magnificence and an ambition to outshine all the neighboring potentates in unlimited display.

The Hebrew tradition invested Solomon with supreme wisdom. In the legends of the East he became the master-magician of all time, at whose bidding djinns and afrits hastened to build magic palaces and to heap up gold and jewels beyond computing. In truth he seems to have been gifted with that shrewdness in the determining of puzzling disputes brought to his judgment which delights the oriental mind; and to have had the knack of composing wise epigrams and devising clever riddles which likewise appeals strongly to all Eastern folk. As a result, "Suleiman-

bin-Daoud" belongs more to the world of the *Arabian Nights* than to that of sober history.

The place of Solomon in Eastern legend is a very considerable expansion of the slender tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures, from which it appears that with all his cleverness he possessed little spiritual wisdom and a minimum of true statesmanship. He received from David an empire which extended from Egypt to Mesopotamia and from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Desert. There was peace throughout his borders, and he received tribute from most of the surrounding nations. With a tithe of his father's genius he might have anticipated Alexander the Great by six centuries, and become the master of a world-empire. He chose rather the rôle of oriental splendor. He entered on a policy of exploitation. He exhausted his treasury in costly building projects and impoverished his people by taxation. One by one the subject nations refused tribute, and he lacked the resolution and military prowess to force them into submission.

It is true that the business acumen which is the heritage of his race enabled him to build up a commerce which supplemented his diminished revenues and enabled him to beautify his capital with costly palaces and temples. He bought horses in Arabia and chariots in Egypt and sold them at great profit to the Hittites. With the aid of Tyre he built a fleet in the Red Sea, manned with Phœnician seamen, whereby India was brought a thousand miles nearer, and her gold and precious stones, her perfumes and costly fabrics, her apes and peacocks, became a drug in the Western market. We are told that "he made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones." The shrine of Jehovah's

Temple was overlaid with gold, the king's palace was gold and ivory. He sat on a magnificent golden throne, and the very utensils of his kitchen were of the same precious metal. At that he was never able or willing to pay his debts. His policy of matrimonial alliances and the necessity of holding the favor of his queens by building them splendid homes and costly shrines for their gods led him into yet greater extravagance. To pay for the help of Tyre he was compelled to cede to Hiram a portion of his territory, selling his free subjects into virtual peonage; while to carry on his building projects he fell back upon the very policy of enforced labor, to escape which his ancestors had fled from Egypt three centuries before.

All this brought down upon King Solomon the bitterest opposition. Although he had built a splendid temple to Jehovah, his concessions to his pagan queens alienated the priests. The prophets, as always, were the champions of the ancient liberties, and threw their influence into the scale against him. The chief prophet of his reign, Ahijah, became the leader of the opposition, which culminated in a great strike, incited by the fiery man of God and headed by the able and energetic Jeroboam, the king's building-superintendent. The movement was quelled with the help of mercenary troops, and Jeroboam was driven into exile, but Solomon was not cold in his grave when the announcement of his son Rehoboam that he was determined to pursue his father's ruthless policies kindled the fires anew. Ahijah once more took the initiative and recalled Jeroboam from Egypt, whither he had fled. The strike soon became a political revolution. The kingdom fell asunder along the ancient line of cleavage between Judah and Ephraim, and the ten

northern tribes followed Jeroboam into independence. Thus in less than half a century after David's death the empire he created crumbled to pieces, to survive in a state of comparative anarchy for another two hundred years ere it finally disappeared from among the nations.

The period of confusion and anarchy which followed the breaking up of Solomon's kingdom and lasted for more than a century was followed by a brief Indian Summer of peace and prosperity, ere the westward march of empire swept first one and then the other of the Hebrew nations into hopeless ruin. Before we pass to these great events and their interpreters, perhaps it will be well to pause a moment to see how far we have come on the Great Adventure of the sons of Abraham.

Two or three things ought to be clear. The first is the wide gulf between the moral and religious ideals of the Hebrews and those of their neighbors. Though at the outset their notions were sufficiently crude, there were implicit in them from the beginning the germs of a far loftier development. The Jewish conception of God was essentially spiritual. The common people cherished the "teraphim," or wooden images of their household gods, or bowed before the phallic symbols set up beside the altars of Baal, but their religious teachers protested against every form of idolatry, and kept alive the notion of a spiritual deity, to be spiritually worshiped. The oldest form of the Decalogue forbade the making of "molten" images, and the later form prohibited every kind of visible symbol of God. In the beautiful prayer which tradition put in the mouth of Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple

the spiritual conception is expressed in words which even yet have not lost their force:

But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee; how much less this house which I have builded.

The Hebrew religion was likewise fundamentally ethical. Worship and morals were never entirely divorced. "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." Crude as were the ethics of the primitive time, the moral standards of Israel were far above those of other Semitic peoples, whose religious rites included sex orgies and frequently involved human sacrifice. The rite of circumcision, whatever its origin, was in effect a protest against the sex-worship of the nature religions, the dedication of the powers of procreation to Jehovah the God of family life, whose worship was holiness. The ethical requirement of the Hebrew religion not only involved a high standard of personal integrity, but it inculcated a sense of social solidarity and responsibility far in advance of the time, and laid the foundation for the highest development of the social ideal.

Finally, there was implicit in the idea of the Covenant with Abraham the recognition of the universality of Jehovah. If the God of the Hebrews was so much more powerful than the gods of the nations that He could bring His people out of Egypt and drive out the Canaanites before them, then He must be a God of gods. From this conception to that of one supreme deity, ruler of the destiny of all the earth, was a short step. This step was not finally taken until the advent of the great prophets of the Assyrian crisis, but we

catch glimpses of it throughout the religious development of the earlier time.

We must never forget that the vision of the religious leaders was always far in advance of the common people. From one point of view the whole history of Israel is the story of the struggle of the prophets, from Moses onward, to lift an obstinate and stiff-necked people out of the primitive worship and crude moral practices of the Semitic race to a higher plane of spiritual and ethical idealism. It required the drastic discipline of their historical struggle to eliminate the persistent influence of the surrounding paganism and lift the Jew to the level of his spiritual seers.

A second conclusion should be evident from this brief review of Israel's historical adventure. The moral and spiritual significance of that history is quite independent of the elaborate supernaturalism of the Hebrew tradition. We have no desire to enter into the field of controversy with those who accept the Bible stories as literally exact, and who defend the miracles of Moses or Elisha as the foundation of a spiritual faith. But the mind of the present age is utterly out of sympathy with miracles and wonder-tales. The wealth of the supernatural in the Hebrew Scriptures has been an insuperable stumblingblock to the modern reader. But the essential worth of the Old Testament writings is entirely apart from the naïve love of magic characteristic of a primitive age. The life-lessons which the Jewish people learned through the thousand years of their historical development are of lasting significance, entirely apart from the metaphysical presuppositions involved in the conception of miracle. The spiritual interpretation of history is not

dependent on signs and wonders, and the lofty ethical implications of the Hebrew experience are valid in a world of natural law no less than in that characterized by the childish conceptions of a naïve and primitive ignorance.

Finally, we have failed utterly in our attempt to picture the process whereby the lessons of experience were impressed upon the Hebrew soul, if the reader has not by this time gained some measure of sympathetic appreciation of the warm, eager human life out of which the Bible grew. Considerations of space and a jealous regard for the interest of the reader has led us to strip the narrative to its most essential elements. A hundred stories of the most fascinating human interest have been passed by. Nothing could exceed the vivacity, the intimate and vital human sympathy of the Hebrew tradition. A thousand generations have found in these tales an inexhaustible interest and a source of spiritual inspiration, and they have by no means lost their power even in these sophisticated days. We shall be content if our endeavor to discover their higher significance may lead the reader to a closer intimacy with their undying charm.

CHAPTER V

DISRUPTION AND ANARCHY

THE history of the divided kingdom is chiefly one of anarchy and civil strife. Of the nineteen kings of northern Israel two were killed in battle, five were assassinated, another committed suicide to escape capture by a rebel leader, and the last of the line was carried a prisoner to Nineveh by the Assyrian conqueror. The rulers of Judah fared somewhat better, most of them completing their natural term of life; but their territory was insignificant, their people impoverished, and during most of the period they were under tribute to their northern kinsmen.

In another respect the southern kingdom was the more fortunate. She held the capital, with the Temple of Jehovah and with a wealth of patriotic and religious associations. The more loyal and conservative elements in the entire nation therefore remained loyal to the legitimate government.

One of the first acts of policy on the part of Jeroboam still further alienated his most worth-while citizens. In order to offset the possession of the Temple, with its constant appeal to the devout, he established two religious centers for the convenience of his people: one at the ancient shrine of Bethel, sacred to the Hebrew tribes since the days of Jacob's dream, the other at Dan in the far north. As a further concession to the popular mind he restored the worship of the

Golden Calf as a symbol of Jehovah's presence. This action raised a storm of protest from the religious leaders, and thousands of the more devout emigrated to Judah. The old danger that the distinctive religious ideals of Israel might disappear under the pressure of the surrounding paganism became more threatening than ever, and as a result the prophets of Jehovah were roused to great activity. It was at this time that the historical traditions were collected and written down, to be used as educational material for the stimulating of patriotic loyalty as well as of religious devotion. The collection brought together by the prophets of the northern kingdom began with the Covenant with Abraham, while that of the Judean schools included the primitive Creation myths. It is these prophetic chronicles which furnish the groundwork of the Genesis stories.

Of the military adventurers who rose to power in the kingdom of Israel only one established anything like a dynasty. Omri, who was elected to the kingship by the soldiers under his command, was a man of considerable ability, who conquered Moab and impressed even Assyria with his importance. He moved the capital of the kingdom to Samaria, which henceforth became one of the most important centers of Hebrew life. Like most of his predecessors, Omri's idea of rulership was drawn from the petty tyrannies of his pagan neighbors. The people struggled bitterly for four years to hold him from the seat of power, but he proved too strong for them. His name ultimately became the synonym for godless cruelty and oppression.

His son Ahab was likewise an able and energetic monarch, but he too was guided by the Canaanite ideals of absolute rule, and moreover he was completely

under the thumb of his Phœnician queen Jezebel. This strong-minded and ambitious woman was a fanatical devotee of the Phœnician Baal, a far more pretentious deity than the baals of the fields whose shrines attracted the earlier Hebrew farmers. His worship was an orgy of lust. The father of Jezebel, king of Sidonia, was a priest of this degrading cult, and his daughter sought not only to obliterate the worship of Jehovah among her Israelite subjects, but to make her husband's realm an appanage of Phœnicia. Thousands of Jehovah worshipers were put to the sword, and the cult of Baal Melkart became the official religion of the kingdom.

It is a significant fact in the history of the Jewish people that at every important crisis in the life of the nation a leader arose in the prophetic order who became the interpreter of events and the exponent of the spiritual ideal. We have seen how the earlier prophets, from Samuel onward, were no mere soothsayers, much less the dimly comprehended harbingers of a distant future. They were men of affairs, statesmen and social reformers, who enforced the standard of loyalty to Jehovah and set forth the ethical bearings of the religious ideal. The element of prediction, which is commonly supposed to be the essential meaning of prophecy, in reality played a very subordinate part in the work of the Hebrew prophets. They were not so much *foretellers* as *forth-tellers*, speaking in the name of Jehovah and making known His will.

At this time, when the political fortunes of the nation had fallen into decay, it was the prophets of Jehovah who saw the real meaning of the situation, and knew that a life-and-death struggle impended

between the moral and social degradation of paganism and the democratic freedom and purer ideals of the Chosen Race. The champion of Jehovah in this crisis was the picturesque and uncompromising Elijah, one of the most dramatic and interesting figures in the whole prophetic succession.

The history of Elijah and his disciple and successor Elisha was incrustated by tradition with a mass of popular wonder-stories which all but obscures their real significance. But when we have discounted these it is still possible to gain a vivid impression of the strength and moral energy which gave these inspiring personalities a leading place in the imagination of succeeding centuries.

Elijah was a man of the desert, rude, uncouth, full of fierce energy, with a strong sense of the dramatic. He understood the power of mystery, and for months on end was accustomed to disappear in the fastnesses of the wilderness, whence he emerged with startling suddenness to denounce the tyrannies of Ahab or to confound the prophets of Baal. By the sheer force of his personality he won the common people to renewed allegiance to Jehovah and thwarted the ambitious designs of Jezebel. He championed the rights of the people against the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and thus won their affectionate loyalty. His later years were spent in training his successor, and in laying the foundations of a far-reaching political revolution. His end was as dramatic as his life. He disappeared in the desert beyond Jordan, and the popular imagination pictured him taken to the presence of Jehovah in a chariot of fire.

The mantle of Elijah fell upon Elisha, who was in all respects a very different man from his master, save

in his consuming passion for the rights of the people and his loyalty to the God of his fathers. So far from hiding himself in the desert, he moved continually among the common folk, the Bishop Welcome of his time. Of the many miracles accredited to him, all but one were deeds of mercy and helpfulness. He believed in education, and made use of the prophetic guilds to spread the knowledge of the ancient traditions. He became the friend and advisor of kings.

All the while he was working toward the revolution which Elijah had planned, biding his time until all things were ready. Then at a word to his chosen leader Jehu the blow was struck, the dynasty of Omri was overthrown, the leaders of the existing régime put to the sword and a new order established.

The aims of Elijah and Elisha were political and social rather than spiritual, and their policies met with unsparing criticism at the mouth of their successors, the great prophets of the eighth century. Nevertheless their work was of far-reaching consequence. They restored the tradition of the Covenant to its ancient place in the thought of the race. They won the populace to renewed allegiance to their ancestral God. Above all they implanted so deeply in the hearts of their countrymen the spirit of democratic liberty that every revolution in modern times has found in the Hebrew Scriptures its essential inspiration and not infrequently owed it leadership to men of Jewish race.

BOOK II
THE PROPHEPIC VISION

Where there is no vision the people perish.

PROVERBS xxix. 18

*The lion hath roared, who will not fear? The
Lord Jehovah hath spoken, who can but
prophesy?*

AMOS iii. 8

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETERS OF DESTINY

THE eighth century B. C. marks the beginning of one of the most fruitful creative periods in the history of mankind. The student of history is impressed with these occasional springtime outbursts which seem to be independent of geography, and to affect remote and entirely unrelated peoples with a common interest and purpose. The energy of the race wells up spontaneously against the barriers of experience, to establish new boundaries for the human spirit.

It was the century of the founding of Rome, of the birth of Greece, of the recrudescence of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Within the next three or four hundred years the master-spirits of ancient civilization whose intellectual and spiritual discoveries still dominate human thought had their birth—Confucius in China, Gautama in India, Zoroaster in Persia, the amazing luminaries of the Age of Pericles in Greece. These same centuries gave us the supreme masterpieces of Hebrew literature.

For Israel the early part of the eighth century was, as we have said, an Indian Summer. For fifty years the Hebrew kingdoms enjoyed such prosperity as had not been witnessed since the golden days of Solomon. Shortly before the close of the preceding century the Assyrians, who had formerly been among the subject peoples of the great Babylonian empire in Mesopo-

tamia, began a meteoric rise to power. In a short time they established their ascendancy over western Asia, and ere long were bringing war to the very gates of Egypt for the rulership of the world. The struggle was never pushed to a conclusion. For two hundred years Nineveh ruled from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, but her downfall was almost as rapid as her rise to power. Before the end of the seventh century Babylon under Nebuchadrezzar reasserted herself, and the Assyrians were overthrown.

The revolution of Jehu in the days of Elisha so weakened the kingdom of Israel that both it and its southern neighbor fell a prey to the ambitions of Syria, and were brought under tribute. But the first effect of the rising power of Assyria was to threaten Damascus from the north, with the result that the Hebrew kingdoms were set free. By good fortune they were both at this time under the rule of able and energetic kings, Jeroboam II in the north and Uzziah in the south, each of whom reigned for more than forty years. They took advantage of their opportunity, recovered their independence, and regained their sway over the neighboring nations. They extended their commerce, and like Solomon exacted tribute from every caravan which crossed their borders. Wealth flowed into Samaria and Jerusalem. The middle class had been virtually destroyed by the civil wars. The country population, attracted by the promise of wealth in trade, deserted the farms and villages and flocked to the cities, where the majority speedily sunk to the direst poverty. Profiteers and traders amassed fabulous wealth and built costly palaces, while the poor starved about their feet.

We have here a situation which offers a remarkable

parallel to that brought about by the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century: the growth of the cities at the expense of the rural districts, the concentration of great wealth in comparatively few hands, the resultant extravagance and profligacy of the newly rich, the corruption of the government, the venality of courts and legislatures, the distress and oppression of the proletariat. Land monopoly, the engulfing of the peasant-proprietor by the absentee landlord, who presently found himself the possessor of vast estates employed chiefly as pleasaunces of licentious self-indulgence, while the poverty-stricken laborers huddled together in city slums or toiled for a pittance at the behest of their more fortunate neighbors; unbridled extravagance side by side with want and starvation; pride and greed flaunting their vices in the very precincts of the houses of worship, while the helpless victims of the new social conditions called in vain upon the God of their fathers for relief—these are conditions familiar to every reader of Carlyle and Ruskin, of Dickens and Charles Kingsley, to every student of the economic history of modern times. Industrial capitalism was yet undreamed of, but the broad outlines of the social problem were those of our own day. Outwardly the period was one of unprecedented prosperity, but there were not wanting thoughtful observers who saw the precarious foundations of the national wealth, and who warned the nation in vigorous terms of the threatened downfall. It is significant that a recent history of Socialism begins with a study of Amos and Isaiah.

It was during this period that the culture of the Hebrew people for the first time reached the point at

which it began to create a literature. As we have seen, it was apparently during the preceding century that the ancient traditions of the race were brought together in permanent form. Apart from these, together with some of the "Proverbs" and possibly a few religious lyrics afterward incorporated in the Book of Psalms, we have little if any trace of literary activity earlier than the time of Amos. The lost anthologies of folk-song and ballad known as the "Book of Jasher" and the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" have disappeared so completely that we have no means of knowing anything whatever of their date and authorship. It is natural to suppose that Moses, a man of the highest culture known to antiquity, must have written down for his people his legal enactments and the outlines of a federated organization, but these underwent so many modifications and repeated codifications that we can point to little or nothing in the Hebrew law and say with certainty that it came from his pen. From Samuel to Elisha we have not a single word which we can attribute to the prophets who exerted so profound an influence on the national destiny. The earlier prophets were doers rather than writers, and their works survive in the history rather than the literature of their people. But from the eighth century onward we have in the prophetic writings a succession of literary masterpieces of which any nation might be proud. The rugged eloquence of Amos, the impassioned tenderness of Hosea, the polished periods of Isaiah, the colloquial simplicity of Micah, the mournful beauty of Jeremiah, the elaborate symbolism of Ezekiel and Daniel, the quiet satire of the Book of Jonah, the amazing spiritual appeal of the Second Isaiah, afford a body of literature

which places the Bible among the supreme products of imaginative genius.

The prophets of Israel were preëminently poets. The ordinary reader, influenced by traditional theology or religious speculation, has never learned to think of them from this point of view. We leave to the literary critic any discussion of the verse-forms which they employed with masterly skill. All true poetry survives by reason of its insight, the depth and passion of its human interest, rather than by its mastery of the technical devices whereby thought is wedded to music. The reader is recommended to turn to the pages of Hebrew prophecy as to the heroic epics of Homer or the sublime organ-music of Milton, to learn from a new source the power of language to awaken emotion through the magic of rhythm and the suggestive mystery of figurative speech. He will rise from the study with a greater reverence for the Hebrew genius and a deeper appreciation of the uplifting power of a spiritual ideal.

It used to be said that none should read the Scriptures save with prayer. We are coming to see that they should be read with imagination. Vision can be interpreted only by vision, never by the grammar and the dictionary. No one is competent to approach the Hebrew prophets whose eyes have not been purged with rue, to see behind the mystical language of the poet the living forms of vital truth. He must be able to live again the life of the ancient time, to comprehend its problems, to enter into its emotions. In particular must he understand the passion of the loyal Jew, bred in the conviction of centuries that his race was intrusted with a divine mission, who nevertheless

saw the overhanging doom and agonized to comprehend the mystery of Jehovah's purpose.

The prophets, whether singly or in groups, arose in hours of supreme crisis in the nation's life. It was their mission to interpret destiny, to discover the moral law behind the historic movement. Where the ordinary Jew rested blindly in the divine Covenant, or sought to fend the threat of disaster by religious observances, or rushed frantically into political intrigue, the prophets saw in the logic of circumstances the inexorable workings of infinite justice and the progressive unfolding of a vast and dimly comprehended plan. With unflinching courage they laid bare the spiritual blindness of their people. With profound insight they defined the moral ideal. With sublime faith they challenged their countrymen to stake the future upon the changeless wisdom of the Almighty, and through spiritual loyalty to defeat the enemies of His righteous kingdom.

The mainspring of the prophetic spirit is to be found in an inner consciousness of the living Presence of God. Religion to Amos or Isaiah, as to the master-seers of every age, was not a hypothesis but a fact of experience. To overlook this is to miss the whole significance of spiritual biography, in the Bible or out of it. It is as true of John Wesley or Dante, of Socrates or Gautama Buddha, as of the Old Testament heroes.

One does not argue the experience of light, one opens one's eyes and sees. The shock of a live wire bears incontrovertible testimony to the presence of energy, however mysterious. Science may inquire the laws under which this energy operates, but it cannot

go behind the returns. The fact of experience is paramount.

Only the blindest dogmatism of disbelief can deny that at sundry times and in divers manners men have come into contact with unseen energies which for want of a better term we call spiritual. Metaphysical speculation may seek to determine the character and source of these experiences. Theology may collate and interpret them, and endeavor to discover their law. Psychology may investigate the conditions of their occurrence and relate them to the rest of our conscious life. But the facts remain. Energies there are whose operation we may dimly trace, but with which in hours of special stress we come into contact, to know henceforward that the Mystery we call God is a vital reality which has changed for the subject of such experience the whole meaning of life.

There are flashes struck from midnights,
There are fire-flames noondays kindle,
Whereby piled-up honors perish,
Whereby swollen ambitions dwindle,
While just this or that poor impulse,
Which for once had play unstified,
Seems the sole work of a lifetime,
That away the rest have trifled.

The crisis in the life of Israel's ancient heroes came in every case through such a vital contact with spiritual reality. Abraham hears its call and goes out, "not knowing whither he went." Jacob wrestles with the mysterious stranger by Jabbok ford, and emerges from the struggle no longer Jacob, "Supplanter," but Israel, "Prince of God." Moses sees the bush which burned with fire yet was not consumed, and goes back to Egypt to lead his people from the house of bondage.

Samuel while yet a child hears the voice which calls him from his bed, and becomes from that hour the messenger of Jehovah's will. Elijah at Horeb hears the "still small voice," and becomes the unconquerable champion of the people's faith. Elisha catches a glimpse of the chariot and horses of fire, and the mantle of his master falls upon his shoulder.

So it was with the greater prophets whose writings are the climax of spiritual vision. Amos is a herdman in an obscure Judean village, "neither a prophet nor of the sons of the prophets"; but the Word of the Lord calls him from his flock: "The lion hath roared, who will not fear? Jehovah hath spoken, who can but prophesy?" Hosea, in supreme agony over the wreck of his home, sees his experience as the type of Jehovah's unavailing Love and becomes the mouthpiece of the tenderest evangel. Isaiah, brooding in the Temple over the chaos which impends with the death of the aged Uzziah, beholds in vision the majesty of the divine Holiness before which seraphs cover their faces, and feels on his lips the burning coal of spiritual cleansing. The mission which called him was one from which he shrank in every fiber of his being, yet he fulfilled it to the day of his death. Jeremiah hears the call, and pleads his youth and lack of courage. The answer comes, "See, I have made thee this day a defenced city and an iron pillar, and walls of brass against this people," and he sets out upon his life-long martyrdom. The later Isaiah, sunk in the discouragement of the Captivity at Babylon, hears a voice which bids him cry: "And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the breath of Jehovah bloweth

upon it, surely the people is grass." And the voice replies, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the Word of our God shall stand forever!"

It may be that the form in which these experiences are related is a literary device for expressing the unutterable, but we cannot doubt their reality. These men had touched a live wire, and the shock changed the whole current of their career. We may not accept their idea of God. We may object to any attempt to express the fundamental spiritual Reality of the universe in terms drawn from human psychology. We may say if we will that such experiences are but a breaking-through into hitherto unsuspected depths in the human spirit. If this be so, then we have but changed the form of our spiritual faith. It remains true that both the subject of such an experience and the Creation of which he is a part are of such a character, the visible expression of such energies, that it is possible to tap inexhaustible sources of moral insight and spiritual strength whereby the personality of man is raised to the *n*th power. He becomes henceforth capable of an insight and a heroic devotion which lifts the whole of human life to a higher plane and becomes a manifestation of the Infinite.

Each of the prophets made his own contribution to the expanding idea of God and the purpose of His Covenant. Each of them was more than a poet or a religious teacher; he was a statesman and social reformer, striving with the blindness and fat-hearted stupidity of his countrymen that he might avert if possible the threatened doom; and when these efforts proved unavailing, seeking to strengthen the hearts of his people with a larger vision of Israel's mission. The result was that the Jewish race emerged from the

wreck of its national ambitions with a more assured faith in Jehovah and a heightened consciousness of its own central place in the divine plan. Other races have repudiated their national gods when these proved powerless to avert disaster. Through the influence of the prophets Israel came to see in their tribal deity the supreme Ruler of human destiny, to whom all nations, even His Chosen, were but pawns in a great game, the winning of which should mean the establishment of righteousness and peace for all mankind.

CHAPTER VII

THE MASTER-SEERS

Amos, the herdman of Tekoa, was the first of this great succession of poet-statesmen. Following his flocks on the Judean hills, he watched from the sidelines the great game of commercial profiteering which marked the prosperous first half of the eighth century, measured the emptiness of its glories and noted the treacherous foundations on which it was built. His occasional visits to the city markets familiarized him with the flaunting luxury of the newly rich, the debasing poverty of the lower class. Beneath the tumult of the market-place he could hear the menacing tramp of the Assyrian armies, whose westward march had only begun.

His soul on fire with a passion for righteousness, with the vision of social justice, he appeared without warning at a religious festival at Bethel, the historic shrine, and began his matchless arraignment of blind and selfish greed. He opened his campaign with the utmost tact, denouncing the traditional enemies of his race for their outrages against justice and humanity. Only after he had secured the sympathetic attention of his countrymen did he narrow his attack to the follies of his own people, denouncing in unsparing terms the reckless profligacy, the unthinking heartlessness of the profiteers, and warning them of the wrath to come. He assured them that their prosperity was

by no means a token of Jehovah's favor, but rather a touchstone of their moral worth. The extravagance of their religious ceremonial was but a further offense unless it proved the inspiration of righteousness and the service of the common need: "I hate, I despise your feasts, your burnt offerings; but let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." He declared in the name of Jehovah, "I have set a plumb-line in the midst of my people Israel: I will not pass by them any more."

The vivid imagery, the rugged beauty, the passionate moral insight of Amos are a classic of social idealism. He tells his countrymen that their boasted inheritance of Abraham's Covenant is not a guaranty of Jehovah's favor, but rather a challenge to the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. It is an obligation, not a warrant, and only by proven loyalty to its ethical demands can its promises find fulfillment. The prophet has no hope that his people, drunk with prosperity, will heed his warnings. With direful pictures of unescapable doom he seeks to quicken the national conscience, in the remote hope that when doom is accomplished the chastened remnant of Israel may rebuild the fallen hut of David their king.

The words of Amos fell indeed on deaf ears. A few years later Hosea—not, this time, a Judean, but a citizen of one of the border villages—used his own tragic domestic experience as a basis for impassioned appeals to the House of Israel to forsake its whoredoms and return to its allegiance to Jehovah, the loving Husband and Father of the Chosen Race. The licentious extravagance, the frequent idolatry, the entangling foreign alliances of his people were to Hosea akin to the treachery wherewith the wife of his bosom

rewarded his faithful devotion. With heartbroken tenderness he pictured God as a deserted Husband, whose love might still redeem the unfaithful Spouse, but who nevertheless must stand aside in helpless pity until the bitter fruits of disloyalty have wrought the spirit of true repentance.

Like Amos, Hosea prophesied to a people besotted with unearned wealth. In all too short a time their forebodings were fulfilled. In the beginning of the last quarter of the eighth century the Assyrian conqueror laid siege to the capital city. The ivory palaces of Samaria were laid in heaps of ruins, and the remnant of the House of Israel were carried captive to distant lands. Only the mystery of the Lost Tribes was left to keep alive the memory of the glories that had been.

It was perhaps forty years after Amos pronounced his message of doom, and while Hosea yet yearned after the wandering affections of his disloyal people, that a young prince of the royal blood, meditating in the Temple at Jerusalem upon the troubles which threatened Judah with the passing of the dying Uzziah, saw a vision of the unapproachable majesty of Jehovah's awful purity and heard a mystic voice calling him to pronounce judgment upon the faithless nation.

Though the place of Isaiah in the hearts of Bible readers rests in part upon the matchless poetry of a nameless successor of the times of the Captivity, whose work was later incorporated with his own, nevertheless he stands without a peer among the prophets of Israel, a statesman and orator whose rhapsodies touch the high-water mark of moral insight and spiritual pas-

sion. After Amos and Hosea there is nothing particularly original in his social ethics or his moral elevation; but he brings to the insight of his earlier contemporaries a grasp of world affairs, a loftiness of character and a depth of spiritual vision which have given him a secure position as the greatest of all the prophets of the Hebrew race. For fifty years he was the guiding spirit in the life of the southern kingdom, the counselor of her rulers, the inspiration of the nation's darkest hours. It was to him more than any other that Judah owed its immunity at a time when all its neighbors fell a prey to the Assyrian conqueror, and its survival for five generations, to carry into captivity an unconquered soul through which it gained the restoration of its ancient capital, and maintained undaunted its faith in an immortal destiny.

For his own time the message of Isaiah was a repetition on a loftier note of the rebuke and warning of Amos. The children of the Covenant had been blind to its deeper significance. They had thought their destiny secure on the basis of Jehovah's promise, regardless of their own moral obedience. "He looked for justice, and behold oppression, and for righteousness and behold a cry." Unexampled wealth, unbridled luxury, coupled with heartless disregard of justice and the common need, had provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger. The extravagance of their religious observance was but an added offense.

To what end is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith Jehovah. I am fed up with burnt offerings of rams and he-goats . . . altar smoke is an abomination . . . your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth. . . . When ye make many prayers I will not hear, your hands

are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil, learn to do well. Establish justice, punish the oppressor, judge the widow and the fatherless, and then come and let us reason together, saith Jehovah of Hosts.

One after another he takes up the abuses of his time, the profligacy of the rich, their land monopoly, the oppression of the poor, above all the insolence of the notion that because they were the Chosen People they were immune to judgment. He strips the soul of the nation bare, and declares that the anger of Jehovah is not turned away. Yet the faith of Isaiah in the ultimate purpose of God for His chosen race never falters. At the time when his warnings were most unrelenting he named his first-born son, "A-Remnant-Shall-Return." He was the first of all the prophets to point the hope of Israel to a future Reign of Righteousness, and his Ideal King became the Messianic dream which through centuries of distress and dispersion sustained the heart of the Jew and became the inspiration of the ultimate world-faith in the Nazarene.

As a statesman Isaiah struggled to prevent the kings of Judah from entangling themselves in the intrigues of world-politics, and was so far successful that while the national existence was threatened for a few years by the invasion of Sennacherib they were finally left unmolested, till the folly of a young king a century later brought down the wrath of the Babylonian conqueror and the final disaster of the Captivity.

A younger contemporary of Isaiah, the village prophet Micah, driven by the Assyrian invasion to take refuge in the capital, was so stirred by the abuses which he witnessed that he became for a time the

leader of a successful reform movement, by which both king and people were profoundly influenced. It was Micah who summed up the ethical basis of religious faith in the immortal words: "What hath Jehovah required of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with God."

Stripped of the accidents of time and circumstance, and disregarding individual differences of temperament and mode of speech, the message of these outstanding interpreters of the Assyrian crisis is one which holds abiding significance so long as mankind struggles to embody its social life in the forms of political organization. With one voice they declare that there is no basis for national glory or economic stability save that of social justice; that neither orthodoxy nor religious devotion can save the people which refuses to face the realities of life, and to embody in its institutions the eternal principles of right and truth. When one considers the remarkable parallel between the social conditions of their age and those of our own, together with the continual threat of war and a world-catastrophe with which the prophets of the present time cease not to warn us, the writings of these amazing men become as up to date as a recent issue of the *New Republic* or the *American Mercury*. The moral insight of twenty-five centuries has added little to their significance, and the New Testament itself but brought the further inspiration of a supreme Personality in whom the spirit of the prophets found incarnation.

The survival of Judah after the destruction of the northern kingdom was due in great part to the success of Isaiah and Micah in controlling the political situa-

tion, but it owed something to the geographical situation, which lay at one side of the trade routes connecting the East and the West, and by its seclusion in its mountain fastnesses fostered that narrowness of outlook, that intense loyalty to tradition, which characterized the later life of the Jew. Mountain-folk have never been easy of conquest, nor when subdued by superior force are they readily absorbed by an alien civilization.

The destruction of Samaria and the captivity of the northern tribes in 722 B.C. rendered the southern kingdom a ready listener to the sagacious counsels of its prophets. But when the assassination of Senacherib and a resultant period of anarchy in Assyria led to the abandonment of the empire's ambitious designs in the west and a consequent lessening of the pressure upon Palestine, there came a revulsion of feeling which led to a moral reaction. Under Manassah, son and successor of the Hezekiah who was Isaiah's pupil and friend, the spirit of paganism burst forth in violent opposition to the prophetic influence. The idolatrous worship of Canaan and Assyria was revived in its worst forms. The champions of Jehovah were subjected to bitter persecution in which, according to tradition, Isaiah himself perished. For half a century the followers of the prophets were driven into hiding, while the altars smoked with human sacrifices and pagan license ran riot in the streets of Jerusalem. During this time the disciples of the prophets, taking refuge in the wilderness, edited the writings of their masters and sought to embody the prophetic ideals in a recodification of the ancient Law. The Book of Deuteronomy, which was promulgated in the latter part of the seventh century, was the fruit of this effort.

In time the people themselves revolted against the extravagance of this lawless régime, and under a sort of committee of safety the infant son of the royal house was educated in the austere ideals of the ancient faith, while priests and prophets assumed control of the nation. Zephaniah, like Isaiah a prophet of royal blood, was the leading influence of this time. The young king Josiah, when he came to manhood, enforced the lofty principles in which he had been reared, and inaugurated the most drastic reform the Jewish nation had ever known. Hundreds of half-pagan village priests were put to the sword, and the ancient shrines which had shared the devotion of the people between Jehovah and the Canaanite Baal for five hundred years were destroyed. The new prophetic Code was promulgated, and the hopes of the older prophets seemed about to be realized.

It was at this time that the recrudescence of ancient Babylon, under the leadership of Nebuchadrezzar, brought about the downfall of the Assyrian ascendancy and substituted a new empire on the throne of world power. Nineveh was captured and destroyed in 606 B.C. Egypt thought to take advantage of a heaven-sent opportunity to regain ascendancy in Syria, and the armies of Pharaoh-Necho invaded the Mediterranean coasts.

Josiah saw a chance at this juncture to gain the favor of his Mesopotamian overlord, and perhaps to win the independence of his people, by resisting the Egyptian advance. As a result he was killed in battle, and his eldest son placed on his throne as a vassal of Egypt. Nebuchadrezzar promptly showed himself a master of destiny. With a swiftness of movement

worthy of Napoleon he swept down upon the western coast, defeated Egypt and put his own puppet-king on the throne of Jerusalem. A few years later the fool-hardy refusal of Judah to pay the required tribute brought a Babylonian army to the gates of Jerusalem. The leading men of the city were taken to Babylon as hostages, and the king himself carried thither in chains. A new puppet was placed on the throne, whose headstrong folly brought about the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 and the captivity of the entire Jewish people, save the peasantry, who were left on their farms. The glorious Temple of Solomon was destroyed, and the city left a heap of ruins.

During these troublous times the prophet Jeremiah was the mainstay of the national spirit. Indifferent, though acquiescent, to the reforms of Josiah, because he saw that they touched only the surface of the spiritual life, he steadfastly opposed from the beginning the policy of intrigue and advocated submission to the new power of Babylon. When his warnings were unheeded and the conqueror asserted his power, the prophet was offered safe conduct to Babylon and a life of ease under the protection of Nebuchadrezzar, but he "chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God." His life was one long martyrdom to the principle of submission and non-resistance. In the end he was carried by a group of insurgents to Egypt, where he met a violent death by reason of his unshaken loyalty to the principles of his spiritual faith.

The writings of Jeremiah are of great poetic beauty, and reveal the sensitive spirit of the man whose moral courage carried a naturally shrinking nature through a long life of interminable struggle and suffering. He brought to the insight of his predecessors the added

note of personal spiritual contact and inspiration. He is preëminently the prophet of the inner life, warning men to rend their heart and not their garments, and pointing to a coming time when neither priest nor temple should be needed, because the Law of Jehovah should be written in the hearts of His children. The popular notion that Jeremiah was a synonym for mournful gloom fails altogether to take account of his courage and spiritual sweetness. A braver soul never lived, nor one whose character more deeply impressed his countrymen. There is little doubt that the figure of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah in the Second Isaiah was based on Jeremiah as a model.

Among the first captives taken as hostages to Babylon was a young priest who had grown to manhood during Josiah's reforms, and had no doubt sat at the feet of Jeremiah. He became the spiritual adviser and comforter of the exile colony, and was soon famed as a prophet. Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel had no illusions about the situation. There were plenty of easy-going men among the prophetic guilds who taught that Jehovah would never suffer his Temple to be profaned, and Jeremiah had taken his life in his hands by his warning that the next raid of the conqueror would involve even the House of God in utter destruction. Ezekiel told his fellow captives the same thing, declaring that the stubborn folly of the Jerusalem leaders was bound to bring irreparable disaster. The fulfillment of these predictions greatly enhanced the prestige of both prophets. When the final catastrophe befell, and the entire upper class of the Judean population were transported to Babylonia, Ezekiel set himself the task of bringing courage and hope to the

exiles by promising them their ultimate return and the restoration of the Temple. He even went so far as to devise plans and specifications for the new Temple, and to elaborate the ritual of sacrifice.

As a prophet, Ezekiel is marked by strong common sense and an ethical emphasis akin to that of Amos. There was little poetry in him. His imagination runs to elaborate symbolism, whose mysteries are even yet a favorite ground for the exercise of interpretative ingenuity. His chief contribution to the prophetic teaching was his marked individualism. The older prophets thought in terms of the nation. It was Israel which had sinned, and the penalties incurred were national in scope and character. Jeremiah had introduced the factor of inward spiritual feeling, which is essentially individual. But Ezekiel was the first to see clearly that the nation no longer existed, and that henceforth each individual must stand upon his own feet, and be judged by his own desert, for good or ill.

But Ezekiel was priest as well as prophet, with a gift for organization and a strong sense of the value and significance of ordered religious worship. His lofty conception of the divine Holiness led to a considerable expansion of the ritual of ceremonial purification ere the worshiper might approach God. The laws of the "Holiness Code" in the book of Leviticus were the work of Ezekiel and his disciples. It was Ezekiel more than any other who gave direction to the religious life of the post-exilic Hebrews, and laid the foundations for the ceremonial scrupulosity of later Judaism.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUBLIMATION OF HOPE

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of the Babylonian Captivity upon the thought and life of the Jewish race. The national adventure which began with Abraham and absorbed the energies of his descendants for fifteen centuries and more had ended in irretrievable ruin. A less virile people, with smaller capacity for moral discipline, might have sunk in the darkness of despair. Under the instruction of the prophets the national ambitions of the Jew were sublimated into the dream of spiritual conquest.

For the majority of the exile colony the new experience merely awakened the old nomadic instinct which promptly made itself at home in whatever surroundings fate provided. When the shock of the national disaster subsided, they found themselves in a situation by no means intolerable. Colonized on the banks of one of the great irrigation canals connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, they soon discovered that this fertile soil and tropical climate offered far more comfortable conditions than the intractable hillsides of mountainous Judea. They were never harshly treated by the Babylonian conqueror, who transported them simply because he could not tolerate a seditious and turbulent race at the western gateway of his empire. Commercial opportunities were freely open, and the trading instincts of the descendants of Jacob

promptly responded. Long before the advent of the Persian conqueror they had made a comfortable home for themselves from which they were loath to move.

When in 538 Cyrus overthrew the anemic descendants of Nebuchadrezzar and forever destroyed the ascendancy of Babylon, he promulgated an edict permitting the Jews to return to Palestine, but only a handful of patriotic enthusiasts availed themselves of the privilege. The great majority remained in their new home, whence they spread eventually throughout the entire East, and in due time throughout the world. The *diaspora*, or dispersion of the Jews, had begun.

In the meantime the mind of the thoughtful Jew turned inward, to the problems of the spiritual life. The hope of world-conquest persisted in one form or another of the Messianic dream. Meanwhile the teaching of the prophets that the national disaster was due to the moral failure of the Chosen Race sunk home, and the devout leaders of the nation began to build that hedge about the sacred Law which ultimately degenerated into the hair-splitting refinements of the Scribes and the meticulous scrupulosity of ritualistic Judaism.

The great work of the prophets was accomplished. They had taught their people the ethical foundations of the spiritual life. They had bridged the transition from the national to the ecclesiastical motive. The climax of the prophetic movement came in the matchless poetry of that unknown prophet of the Exile whose work was afterward incorporated with that of Isaiah. With an eloquence and spiritual beauty which has never been surpassed, the Second Isaiah interpreted the sacrificial sufferings of the Servant of Jehovah, that loyal remnant of Israel upon whom the

national disaster fell most heavily, and through whom the spiritual heritage of the Hebrew race should become the possession of all mankind. The work of this anonymous genius has been rightly denominated the climax of the Old Testament.

There were lesser prophets who arose from time to time in hours of special stress—Haggai and Zechariah, who aided in the building of the Second Temple; Obadiah and Joel, who interpreted certain situations in the life of the returned exiles; Malachi, whose work closes the Old Testament Canon, and who, while urging the payment of tithes and the purification of the ritual, points to the advent of the coming Kingdom of God; and above all Jonah, who with incomparable humor and quiet satire pillories the narrow intolerance of post-exilic Judaism and suggests that all nations, even the enemies of Israel, are the subjects of the divine Mercy. But from the point of view both of literary worth and spiritual insight the work of the later prophets falls infinitely below that of the great masters of the earlier time. The leadership of Jewish life passed to the priests and scribes, while the leadership of thought was assumed by the bards and sages.

During the period of development, while the customs and ideals of the growing nation were still fluid, there had been a pronounced opposition between the prophetic viewpoint and that of the priests. The prophets stood entirely apart from the formal religious life, and on occasion roundly denounced the notion that religious observance was pleasing to Jehovah, or could in any wise take the place of spiritual obedience. But when the creative epoch came to an end organiza-

tion began to take the place of insight, and with the passing of political independence the cult became paramount. This was to be expected, and it was by no means a total loss to the cause of spiritual religion. As in the Middle Ages, the authority of the hierarchy proved the chief stabilizing influence and tided over what had otherwise been a period of moral anarchy. Throughout the period of the Exile the priests took their cue from Ezekiel, and employed the hope of rebuilding the Temple and restoring the orderly worship of Jehovah as a means of keeping alive the national spirit among their fellow captives. Further, by developing the application of the ceremonial law to the details of the daily life they provided a substitute for the Temple worship and established the religious motive as the dominant influence of the life of the Jew.

At the same time the scribes began to search out and piece together every scrap of ancient parchment which had survived the national disaster. Even before these had been recovered, with the help of the priests they reproduced the folk-tales and tribal traditions as best they could. Later this rendering of their ancient literature was combined with the recovered prophetic collections of the ninth century to give us the older books of the Scriptures in their present form. It was natural that the reverence of the scribe for the ancient sources should lead to the most scrupulous endeavor to preserve the fragments of ancient documents unchanged, and this in time led to the meticulous literalism which characterized the later editors of the sacred writings. This attitude was enhanced by the fact that during the Exile the common people lost the use of their ancient tongue, adopting the "Aramaic," which was a sort of *lingua*

franca understood throughout all western Syria. Hebrew became a sacred language known only to the religious authorities, and by the time the editorial process was completed the creative spirit which gave to the world the masterpieces of Hebrew literature had become the rabbinism whose traditions were eventually gathered together in the amazing commentaries of the Mishna and the Talmud. The Synagogue, with its sermons and discussions, became the center of the religious life, particularly throughout the Diaspora, and the transition from the free spiritual development of the prophetic era to the literalism of the later Judaism was complete. It remained for the Prophet of Nazareth to tap anew the sources of spiritual inspiration, and to give to the Hebrew tradition the universalism of Christianity.

One of the by-products of this period was the transformation of the national ambition into the dream of a Messianic kingdom. The roots of this peculiarly Jewish development lie far back in the experience of the Hebrew nation. From the division of Solomon's kingdom, there were many who looked for the restoration of the former glories of David's throne. In the light of the Hebrew faith in the Jehovah and the integrity of His Covenant with Abraham, this hope took the form of belief in the coming Day of the Lord, when by the display of His almighty power the enemies of His kingdom should be confounded and His representative assume his rightful place as the head of the nation and the conqueror of the world. The prophets of the Assyrian crisis adopted the slogan, but declared that the Day of Jehovah was a day of judgment on

His people for their faithlessness. Yet they cherished the hope that the righteous remnant should be restored, and that the Anointed of Jehovah should some day establish His kingdom in the earth. After the return of the first exiles to Jerusalem, when the Persian conqueror appointed Zerubbabel, a prince of David's line, as governor of the Jerusalem colony, there were many who hoped that the day of promised glory was at hand. But Zerubbabel passed away shortly after the rebuilding of the Temple, and the dark times which followed led to the spiritualizing of this hope. There were those who insisted that the Messianic kingdom had been merely postponed. The apocalyptic prophecies, of which the Book of Daniel is a type, and which multiplied about the time of the Maccabees, were the expression of this hope. There were others, however, from the very beginning, who had seen more deeply than their neighbors, and to whom the Messianic Hope was entirely spiritual. As is well known, the word Messiah means "Anointed." Strictly speaking, every king and priest is a messiah, for he is anointed with the sacred oil upon his induction into office. To the greater prophets, the nation itself was the anointed Messenger of Jehovah, to make known His name and declare His truth to the nations of the earth. To these profound spiritual thinkers the Messianic idea was the hope that the Jewish race might purify itself for its great mission through repentance and loyal obedience. This was the form of the doctrine which found supreme expression in the Second Isaiah.

The one thing common in all these forms of the Messianic dream was the fact that it operated to turn the Jewish mind from the contemplation of the past

to the hope of the future. Other nations looked backward to the Golden Age; the Jew looked forward to the Kingdom of God. Stripped of the materialistic form which the doctrine too often assumed, as well as of the spectacular supernaturalism of the apocalypticists, equally rooted in materialism, it becomes the abiding faith in an eternal spiritual purpose, in the "far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

Two periods stand out in the history of post-exilic Israel, and mark the beginning and the end of the literary activity to which we are indebted for the supreme masterpieces of the Hebrew Scriptures. The first is the governorship of Nehemiah in the second half of the fifth century, and the second is the kingdom of the Maccabees in the second century B.C.

As we have seen, only a handful of the exiles returned to Judea in accordance with the decree of Cyrus in 535. Nearly twenty years elapsed before they were able to build a house of worship on the ruins of the ancient Temple. The three-quarters of a century which followed the death of Zerubbabel were the darkest that the Jewish race had known.

In the year 444, an able young Jew who held a favored post at the Persian court, hearing from messengers who arrived from Jerusalem the desperate situation of the Jewish colony, beset by their ancient enemies and unable so much as to restore the defenses of their former capital, besought the Persian monarch for leave of absence, and with authority from the king and a grant of material assistance hastened to Judea to take charge of affairs. Nehemiah deserves a larger place in the recognition of Bible readers than he has

generally received. He is really one of the most inspiring personalities in the whole Hebrew story. Though not a prophet, in spiritual-mindedness, devotion and sound practical insight he is next of kin. One hardly knows which is more impressive—his constant reliance on divine guidance, the quick, arrowy prayers with which he seeks for strength and wisdom amid the thousand perplexities of an almost impossible situation, or the swift decisiveness and splendid judgment with which he

Turns a keen, untroubled face
Home to the instant need of things.

In a remarkably vivid and interesting narrative he tells how he strengthened the hearts of the people and led them in rebuilding the ancient walls, often with a trowel in one hand and a sword in the other. He brought order out of chaos, established discipline and set up a stable government. For many years he served as governor, refusing to accept either pay or maintenance. Though the troubles of the Jew were by no means at an end, there followed a considerable period of peace and prosperity.

Jerusalem, however, never regained her position as the center of gravity of the Hebrew life. In spite of the Temple, and the ornate worship maintained by the later priests, the wealth and culture of Jewry remained in Babylonia rather than in Palestine. Other centers there were, in Egypt and along the Mediterranean coast. When Alexander founded his great capital on the banks of the Nile he invited many leading Jews to make their home there, and his policy was followed by the Ptolemies, until Alexandria became

the chief home of Jewish culture. At one time the Jewish quarter in Alexandria was so important that it had its own city government. It was here, in the second century before Christ, that the Scriptures were translated into Greek, and that still later Philo the Jew became one of the leading exponents of the neo-Platonic philosophy. The Jew might pray with his windows open toward Jerusalem, as the pious Moslem turns toward Mecca, but the Holy City had become little more than an object of pious pilgrimage and a fixed center for the religious imagination.

After the breaking-up of Alexander's empire, western Asia fell to the Seleucidae, a dynasty of ruthless tyrants under whom Judea suffered more than ever before. The worst of the line was Antiochus Epiphanes, who came to the throne in 175 B.C. A devotee of Hellenic culture, he made relentless war upon Judaism, and subjected the devout Hebrews to bitter persecution. The ultimate result was to consolidate the Jewish people in a fanatical revolt under the leadership of a priestly family known as Maccabeus. Judas of that name showed remarkable qualities as a general, and with a handful of guerillas defeated the trained armies of Syria. Independence was finally won, and for a few decades the Jewish State resumed its place in the family of nations; only to fall a prey eventually to a family feud in the ruling household, and finally to come under the power of Rome.

This brief interlude awakened anew the old Messianic hopes and gave rise to a flood of apocalyptic prophecies. It is probable also that many of the Psalms reflect the direful days of the persecutions of Antiochus as well as the glad rejoicings of the period of victory. The various parties among the Jews which

meet us in the pages of the New Testament also had their birth at this time. But the recrudescence of political power was after all merely a flash in the pan. The scepter had departed from Judah. An Idumean king ruled a portion of the race for a short time as a quasi-independent monarch, and later as a vassal of Rome. Then the control of Hebrew destiny passed to the greatest of world-empires, and before the end of the first Christian century the intractable turbulence of the Jewish leaders had brought down upon the sacred city the wrath of Rome. Jerusalem was utterly destroyed, and the Jew became once more, like his patriarch ancestors, a stranger and a sojourner in the earth.

BOOK III
BARDS AND SAGES

God . . . giveth songs in the night.
JOB xxxv. 10

The words of the wise are as goads.
ECCLESIASTES xii. 11

CHAPTER IX

THE HEBREW EPIC

THE ordinary reader is surprised to learn how great a part of the Hebrew literature is poetry. More than half of all that has come down to us belongs under this head, including the works of the prophets which we have already considered.

How could it be otherwise, since it came from a people whose prime interest was in the things of the spirit, for which the language of logic and grammar is all too limited to afford adequate expression? Bergson has pointed out that the very forms of our logical thought, the concepts by which it seeks to grasp the outer world, furnish only a sort of motion-picture reproduction of reality, imposing a series of successive snapshots upon the continuum of actual experience. Truth, even in the scientific sense, can never be completely attained. A double parallax, first between thought and the real world, and second between thought and the words in which it seeks expression, intervenes to distort it. We can never fully know the truth, much less express it. Einstein's doctrine of relativity, which had not been promulgated when Bergson published his *Creative Evolution*, would seem to the wayfaring man in effect a commentary on the philosopher's dictum.

If this be the case when we are dealing with the everyday realities of material existence, how much more when we would interpret the inner experience of mankind. The sense of human values, the

hopes and fears, desires and aspirations, ideals and spiritual purposes of mankind can never be fully expressed in words; they may only be suggested by figurative speech. They lie beyond the reach of the logical intellect and are discovered and interpreted by the soul's intuition. Bertrand Russell seems also in his *Philosophy* to have arrived virtually at this point.

It is for this reason that the prophets were poets, and every true poet is essentially a prophet. As Mrs. Browning declared, the poets are

The only truth-tellers now left to God,
The only speakers of essential truth,
Opposed to relative, comparative
And temporal truths.

In words which only faintly suggest the immeasurable realities of spiritual vision, in metaphors which can never be reduced to logical form, the poet strives to awaken in his readers some recognition of truths too vast, of emotions too warm and intimate for our "matter-molded" forms of speech. It is not by accident that the master-minds of every race, the creative spirits through whom the essential product of each succeeding age has been transmitted to mankind, have been poets. Even Plato, the most fruitful mind of ancient Greece, was essentially a poet. The Greek dramatists were to Athens what Isaiah and Jeremiah were to Israel. From Dante to Goethe, from Shakespeare to Browning, it is in the poets that the characteristic genius of each race and time is incarnated. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the spiritual vision of Israel should find in poetry its most adequate medium.

The form of all Semitic poetry is exceedingly free, and the line between verse and elevated prose is not

readily drawn. The remarkable beauty of the accepted English version has introduced even into the prose narrative a poetic quality which has helped to disguise the distinction to the mind of the casual reader. It must be remembered that Sir Philip Sidney's *Defense of Poesie* ignores the question of form, and deals with the imaginative and figurative expression of beauty and truth.

Literary critics have distinguished a wide variety of verse forms in Hebrew poetry, and the student can pursue this study in a number of important works. But the commonest characteristic of Hebrew verse is the rhythmic parallelism of thought with which every reader of the Psalms and Proverbs is familiar. It is evident that such verse is exceedingly flexible, and permits the widest range and freedom in the handling of the subject matter. It lends itself particularly to sublimity of thought and feeling, and it likewise admits of translation into other tongues with a minimum of loss. The musical and artistic effect depends less on the peculiar structure of the language than on the strength and beauty of the imagery. As a result, the poetry of no ancient people can be so readily appreciated by the reader.

We have already called attention to the fact that the earliest traditions of the Hebrew race were preserved in poetic form in the lost books of the primitive literature. Hundreds of fragments from this ancient folk-poetry are scattered through the historical writings. Still other stories are evidently prose transcriptions of the earlier form.

The first-fruits of the literary activity of the post-exilic priests and scribes are to be found in the great

prose-epic preserved in the early chapters of Genesis. We have postponed its consideration to this point because it undoubtedly owed its final form to the writers of this period, and because of its intimate relation to the great Babylonian epics. These stories as they have come down to us are entirely independent of verse-form, and are to be regarded as a prose-poem. It may be that back of them lies a lost epic in which the Babylonian cosmogony received the impress of the Hebrew genius, but this is entirely a matter of conjecture. The close relation between the Hebrew and the Babylonian works is evident at a glance when the two are placed side by side.

In its present form the Creation epic of the Hebrews represents the welding together of two earlier writings. The oldest of these comes from the pen of a school of Judean prophets, doubtless shortly after the division of the kingdom, when the religious leaders sought to strengthen the loyalty of the people by gathering up their ancient traditions in permanent form. It is characterized by great picturesqueness and naïveté, and by a childlike anthropomorphism which represents Jehovah as coming to earth in human form to see what is going on, talking intimately with Adam in the Garden, or eating with Abraham in his tent. The second strand is of much later date, and comes from the hand of the post-exilic priests. Its style is dry and formal, and it is much given to genealogies and sacred numbers. It accounts for the origin of many ceremonial observances, such as the Sabbath, the sanctions of which are carried back to the beginnings of things. These two versions of the earliest traditions of the Hebrew race have been traced by their characteristic differences of language and style far down

through the historical narrative of the so-called Books of Moses. To them is added a third strand after we reach the story of Abraham, which from the character of its allusions and historical emphasis evidently comes from the prophetic schools of the northern kingdom.

Naturally, it is only in the Creation story and the history of primitive man that the groundwork is drawn from the Babylonian sources, but here the parallel is obvious. Equally apparent is the immeasurable superiority of the Hebrew version. The crude mythology of the older nature-myth has been set aside, and its framework made the vehicle of a philosophical view of the origin of all things which is by no means inconsistent with the best thought of to-day. The drunken orgy in which the gods chose the champion of the new order disappears with the bloody conflict between the primal gods of chaos and their offspring. Nothing remains of the primitive Semitic cosmogony but the primal Chaos, lost in the darkness of eternal Night, and the order of the creative Days. In place of warring gods, the Eternal Spirit broods over the primeval Darkness, and the successive steps by which the Cosmos comes into being are the simple forth-putting of infinite Power through the divine Fiat. "He spake and it was done, He commanded and it stood fast."

The formalism of the priestly style here elevates the narrative to an austere dignity and beauty which is pure poetry. The first chapter of Genesis is in effect a Creation hymn which the finest genius of succeeding ages has never equaled. The order of creation is purely logical, and is based directly upon the Babylonian myth: Light, then Day and Night, the heavenly Vault which divides the waters of Chaos, Land and Sea, plant-life, the heavenly bodies, birds and fishes (includ-

ing primeval monsters), and finally land animals and man. The whole scheme is naturally geocentric, since the Copernician astronomy was thousands of years in the future. The reader should not forget that even Milton, who wrote less than three centuries ago, is in doubt whether to accept the new theories or to abide by the accepted Ptolemaic astronomy, and leaves an archangel of divided mind regarding these abstruse mysteries! Yet the underlying principle of the Genesis cosmogony is essentially evolutionary, and presents a view of the stages through which the higher forms of life succeeded the lower not too remote from the conclusions of a scientific age.

The notion that we have here a divinely authenticated account of the actual process by which the Cosmos came into being is of course one which was long since abandoned by intelligent commentators and theologians. To attempt to harmonize the first chapter of Genesis with modern astronomy and biology is as absurd as to look for the science of meteorology in Shelley's "Cloud." We are dealing with poetry, which has nothing to do with science. The authors of Genesis undoubtedly employed the scientific notions of their time, which is all that can be required of any poet. But the main contention of the Hebrew author, namely, that the material universe has its root in the forth-putting of creative energy which in its essential nature is spiritual, and to which the human spirit is essentially akin, is a matter which lies far beyond the reach of science. At best it is a question for metaphysics, and despite the mechanistic presuppositions of most present-day thinking remains the most satisfying interpretation of Reality.

The two key-assertions of the Hebrew cosmogony are, "In the beginning, God," and, "He made man in His own image." Against this doctrine science has nothing whatever to say. The most up-to-date of readers may find inspiration in this lofty spiritual philosophy without the slightest apology. A spiritual World-ground to which man himself is spiritually akin may be defended as the only metaphysical conception which does full justice to human values and affords a sufficient basis for moral idealism. The effort of leading representatives of scientific method to-day to reconstruct their metaphysical notions in order to find a sufficient basis for science itself points in the direction of a rehabilitation of a spiritual philosophy, of which the first chapter of Genesis remains a striking suggestion.

When we turn the page to read the second chapter, the whole atmosphere has changed. The naïve story of the formation of man from the dust of the ground and the planting of Eden for his dwelling-place presents a much older form of the nature-myth, entirely inconsistent with that of the first chapter. The one is no more historical than the other. The Garden of Eden belongs in the never-never country of fairyland, where the Nile, the Indus, the Tigris and Euphrates have a common source, and the Lord God walks in the Garden in the cool of the day. The order of creation is completely reversed, the creation of Adam preceding that of plants and animals, and Eve being altogether an afterthought. The charm of the story is in its naïveté, and in the entirely sound psychology of its human reactions. Bernard Shaw is not altogether

paradoxical when he asserts, in *Back to Methuselah*, that as biology the story of Eden is truer than science, and that when we prate of the philogeny of the blastoderm we are telling the tale of Adam and Eve in prose instead of poetry! That the beginnings of knowledge represented a fall from the simplicity of childish ignorance and necessitated a slow and painful upward climb is a deduction from experience. That moral evil has its root in disobedience to acknowledged standards, that it brings in its train not only enlarged experience but the discovery of disharmony and the necessity of moral discipline, are facts to which all fiction as well as all history bears witness. The moment we discard the attempt to find in these primitive tales an accurate account of literal history and read them for their literary charm and their psychological realism, they take their place at the head of all the wonder-stories with which man has sought to account for life as he finds it, and furnish ample justification for the uncounted sermons and moral homilies which have been based on them.

Through the Eden story no less than the majestic picture of Creation which prefaces it runs the sound philosophical doctrine that life has its roots in the spiritual, and that a kinship exists between man and his Creator in which all hope of meaning in human experience has its root.

Following the tale of Eden and the Serpent the double narrative bifurcates, the Judean legend going on to account for the beginnings of civilization in the descendants of Cain, the priestly account taking up the genealogy of the descendants of Adam, with minute

attention to the long life of the primitive patriarchs. Here we find again the influence of Babylonian myth. The two strands are woven together in the annals of the Noachian Flood, following which the Judean account completes its picture by telling of the separation of mankind into distinct races with different speech, while the priestly document gathers up such knowledge as was then possessed concerning the ethnological distribution of the human race, with the particular purposes of locating the Hebrews among their kindred of the family of Noah. Discounting the discrepancy between the genealogy of Noah and his descendants as here related and the science of anthropology as we know it to-day, the ethnological table furnished by the tenth chapter of Genesis is of great historic interest, and furnishes no little insight into the relations which existed among the various races which inhabited western Asia and northern Africa at the dawn of history.

The flood-story is of especial interest, first because it is obviously drawn from the Gilgamesh epic of Babylonian mythology, and second because it is paralleled by similar traditions among races as widely separated as the Hindus and the Indians of Puget Sound. To find a common source of these legends in a primitive disaster which overtook the entire human race is futile in the light of anthropological research. The most that can be said is that they bear witness to race-memories of the geological disturbances which must so often have upset the life of primitive man, as land and sea changed places in central Asia, Africa, or the Mediterranean basin. The Hebrew story is unique in

its ethical emphasis, as well as in its sequel of the promise of Jehovah that

While the earth remaineth,
Seed-time and harvest,
And summer and winter,
And Day and Night
Shall not fail.

The thing to be noted in all this use made by the Hebrew writers of the myths and legends of their Babylonian neighbors is that they are employed to illustrate and enforce the moral and spiritual ideals which are the unique fruit of the Hebrew genius. Every trace of crude pagan mythology disappears, and the ethical principles which the Jewish race attained at such cost through the long discipline of their troubled history are made structural in the whole order of nature and life.

It is for this reason that the prose-epic of Genesis belongs among the masterpieces of the nation's maturity rather than among the simple legends of the primitive tribes. It is a part of the treasure discovered and brought back to mankind by the Argonaut adventure of the Hebrew race.

CHAPTER X

SONGS IN THE NIGHT

THE Hebrews were beyond question a musical race. Poetry was their natural speech. Every striking event in their history, every important feature of the daily life, was celebrated in song. Even the discovery of a well in the desert had its appropriate chant. Battle hymns, marching songs, harvest and festival odes, marriage songs and other like forms of popular verse have come down to us. Still other types of song are referred to, such as the music which accompanied their feasts and drinking-bouts. Occasional references indicate the existence of a class of professional bards and minstrels. Dirges were chanted by hired mourners over the bier of the dead. A considerable list has been compiled of their musical instruments, of which the commonest were the trumpet, the flute, the harp and the tambourine. Of the musical staff of Solomon's Temple we have little knowledge, but the service of song in the Second Temple was highly organized.

The secular lyrics of the Hebrews have been preserved for the most part only in fragments. The Scriptures contain but a single work of this description, the charming sequence of marriage odes known as the Song of Songs, and traditionally ascribed to Solomon. This was included in the sacred Canon only in virtue of a mystical, allegorical interpretation by which its most ardent love passages were given a religious significance.

The Christian church adopted this interpretation, merely changing the object of sacred passion from the Jehovah of the Old Testament to the Christ of the New. The secular character of these love lyrics has long been recognized, however. The allegorical mode of interpreting difficult passages, which was invented by the early rabbis and sanctioned by so great a scholar as Philo, was popular with both Jewish and Christian commentators, but has long since been discarded.

There are several very interesting ways in which this exquisite collection of ancient verse has been interpreted. Some have seen in it a lyric drama of which Solomon is the hero. The Shunamite is a country maiden with whom the king falls in love and whom he desires to make his queen. He woos her first in the guise of a shepherd lover, and only when she has consented to become his bride does he reveal his true state. The maiden accompanies him to the court, but longs for her childhood home, and the honeymoon is spent amid the scenes of their rural courtship. Others see in the drama the tale of a rejected offer of marriage from Solomon to the Shunamite; who is tempted to yield, but after a short time at the court is wearied of its glamour and returns to her shepherd-lover. Professor Morris Jastrow, however, rejects all such interpretations as only less fanciful than the traditional allegorical one, and regards the whole as a more or less casual sequence of folk-songs, strung on the slender thread of a maiden's comparison of her lover with the great King.

However we regard them, there is no gainsaying their charm. If at times the frankness of oriental passion offends our colder Western taste, no lover can read the whole group without coming to love them.

Nor can the religious mystic be censured overmuch if he still sees in the lyric expression of human affection a type of the heart's devout longing for the joys of spiritual communion.

But by far the greater part of the Hebrew poetry was devotional in character. Even the beautiful elegy which David is said to have composed on the death of Saul and Jonathan strikes a religious note. The victorious chant sung by Miriam and her maidens over the destruction of Pharaoh's host at the crossing of the Red Sea, and the Song of Hannah in thanksgiving for the birth of Samuel, differ from other such lyrics in the Book of Psalms merely in that they are definitely connected with a specific event, and were never included in the sacred Psalter.

Scribal tradition attributed a large part of the religious poetry to David, the "Sweet Singer of Israel." There is no reason for rejecting the conviction of his countrymen that he was a poet and a musician. Both arts were far older than his time. But we now know that few if any of the Psalms in the Psalter came from his pen. They are of various dates and represent many backgrounds, but the majority came out of the troublous centuries which followed the Babylonian Exile.

There were excellent reasons for this. Lyric poetry is the expression of emotion, and personal emotion at that. Even a successful national hymn is the dramatization of a personal reaction to the national ideal. The older lyrics in the Scriptures are largely national or social in character. Even the Song of Hannah is concerned with the social significance of a prophet's birth. The individual had not yet emerged

from the social unit, the family, the tribe or the nation. Jeremiah was the first of the religious teachers of Israel to emphasize the spiritual emotions which come to life in the individual soul. It was not until all the traditional units of the social order had been broken up by the Captivity that the individual came to self-consciousness, and the warm emotional life out of which devotional poetry is born became possible. While there can be no doubt that in many of the apparently personal Psalms the subject speaks in the name of the nation, yet the very vividness of the personification bespeaks the enhanced personal consciousness of the later period, and the resulting understanding of individual psychology.

It is in the profound emotional disturbance of the post-exilic era that the great Psalms had their root. The national ideal had broken down. The God of the Covenant had suffered His Chosen People to be betrayed and sacrificed. The loyal and devout had suffered with the rebellious and vicious. The nation was broken into pieces; even family ties were rent asunder. Suffering and hardship had become an individual problem. In his perplexity the soul of the spiritually minded Jew cried to Jehovah his *de profundis*. When through his prayer there came to him some sense of spiritual contact, some warmth of comfort, some light in his darkness, his relief and joy likewise found expression in songs of praise.

It is this deep personal note which has given to the Psalms their place in the heart of mankind. Well-nigh every mood which experience awakens in the thoughtful soul here finds expression, in language which for depth of feeling, richness of metaphor and sustained dignity of tone has never been equaled.

Where else in all the world has the sense of human dependence, the consciousness of unworthiness and guilt, the longing for spiritual comfort, or on the other hand the realization of the divine Presence, the enduring satisfaction of spiritual experience, found so adequate a voice? The Law discovered the beauty of the moral ideal. The prophets by warning, rebuke and promise declared the judgments of God and pointed the path of obedience. But it is in the Psalms that the human spirit enters into understanding of the deeper currents of life, and finds the fellowship of those who walk with God.

The character of the Psalms is as varied as their authorship. We find prayers for deliverance from persecution and hymns of praise when relief has come; confessions of sin, both of the individual and on behalf of the nation; prayers for forgiveness, and praise for the divine mercy; expressions of confident faith in Jehovah; ascriptions of greatness and majesty to the Lord of Hosts; reflections upon His dealing with the righteous and the wicked. The love of the Jew for the Holy City and for the Temple where the glory of Jehovah dwelt between the cherubim finds expression, the yearning of the exile for the sacred associations of religious worship and for the sanctuary in which the very birds of the air found refuge. In one well-known group the spirit of resentment against the conqueror bursts out in fierce imprecations, incomprehensible to one who is unfamiliar with the history of Joshua and of Samuel. There are a considerable number of nature Psalms, in which the majesty of the Heavens or the terror of the thunderstorm bear witness to the greatness and power of God. One of the most beautiful groups is that known as "Songs of Ascent,"

sung by the pilgrims who climbed the toilsome steeps from the Jordan to Mount Zion, "the joy of the whole earth, on the sides of the north, the city of the Great King." Best-loved of all are the expressions of confident trust, "The Lord is my Shepherd," "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty," "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills," "He that keepeth thee shall neither slumber nor sleep."

The whole collection ends with a succession of doxologies, as ringingly joyous and triumphant as the Hallelujah Chorus or the riot of jubilation which brings the Fifth Symphony to a close.

It is with the utmost difficulty that we have refrained from extended quotation. No description or interpretation can do justice to such poetry. Surely no loftier conception of divine power and goodness, no purer moral ideal, no deeper spirit of religious devotion can be conceived than are here expressed. Even when tortured into the frantic *recitativ* of responsive reading in the church service the Psalms have not failed to impress upon the worshipful spirit their beauty and undying charm.

One can but wonder if the men and women of to-day know this storehouse of hid treasure, or if they find here any contact with reality in their own souls. The world of our time strikes the observer as sadly lacking in spiritual emotion. The very fountains of religious feeling seem to be dried up. Human "behavior" has been so externalized by recent psychological science that the sense of dependence which some have regarded as the very foundation of religion has disappeared.

The idea of sin, of guilt and repentance, has become irrelevant. A mechanistic philosophy has depersonalized the Universe. One would as soon think of praying to a gasoline engine as to "the Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." To love God is like loving the multiplication table or the law of gravitation. Even Matthew Arnold's cold definition of religion as "morality touched with emotion" is beyond the level of an age absorbed on the one hand with the pursuit of knowledge and on the other with economic success. The youth of the time, we are told, look with doubt upon any attempt to formulate a moral code. They distrust "idealism" as sentimental and unreal. The emotions represented by the Hebrew Psalms are as remote from their experience and understanding as the music of the spheres.

The real need of this blasé and disillusioned age is a renewed contact with the deeper realities of human experience. The religious poetry of the Bible does not represent a pose. It was not the product of illusion. It did not depend upon the auto-hypnotism of religious jazz or the fanatical self-delusion of a morbid neuroticism. Least of all was it a sublimation of the sex instinct. It was the fruit of a vital experience as deep as the heart of man, as real as hunger and thirst. Saddened, world-weary, heart-hungry men, crushed by oppression and injustice, turned to the Light within and found strength and peace. When they sang the praises of God they were telling what they had learned in the school of life. Religion is not a creed. It is not even fundamentally the belief in God, which is a matter of metaphysics. Religion is a part of life, if it be not life itself. It is a fact of experience, a part

of the raw material of psychology, which sometimes seems concerned not so much to explain facts as to explain them away.

The crowning achievement of the Hebrew adventure was its discovery of God, of vital spiritual Reality. Might it not be well to sit at the feet of these seers, to learn once more to enter into the spirit of their vision, to sing their songs, to tap the sources of their strength, that a weary world may take up anew the gigantic tasks of civilization "in the strength of the Lord and the power of His might"? Or if this be a counsel of perfection, may we not at least find joy in their beauty, until we have learned with Plato that this too is a revelation of God?

CHAPTER XI

THE WORDS OF THE WISE

SIDE by side with priest and prophet in the spiritual history of mankind always has been found the sage, the man of practical wisdom and penetrating judgment who has small concern with abstract ideals but whose counsels in the affairs of daily life are sought by all men. Beginning with the Greeks, philosophy has been engaged chiefly in probing the problems of metaphysics, and is popularly regarded as occupying itself with remote and abstruse mysteries with which the common man has nothing to do. It was otherwise among the Semitic races of ancient times. There, philosophy was a practical affair, concerned with

Schemes of life, its best rules and right uses, the courage
that gains

And the prudence that keeps what men strive for.

Even among the Babylonians, whose absorption with commerce turned their minds to the development of laws and business institutions, there were not wanting sages whose words have been preserved. In the more leisurely, contemplative life of Egypt, on the other hand, intellectual culture was held in esteem, and the observations of the wise, couched in terse, pithy proverbs, were carefully treasured. Ptah-Hotep, a grand-vizier in the days of the pyramid-builders, is said to have collected several thousand of such say-

ings, which even then were known as "the counsel of the men of old time"! Many similar collections were committed to writing before Joseph was sold into Egypt. It is interesting to note that these sayings, which even yet we call "copy-book maxims," were actually used for that purpose in the training of scribes four thousand years ago.

It is the Arabian desert, however, which seems to have been the native habitat of the proverb. To this day travelers in the Near East assure us that one can hardly ask an ordinary question that he is not answered in the form of a popular saying. The Book of Kings refers to the "wisdom of the children of the east." Job is said to have lived in the land of Uz in northern Arabia, and Eliphaz, oldest of Job's friends, came from the Edomite city of Teman, famed for its sages. It was out of this background that Israel emerged, with who knows what traditions of proverbial wisdom, to be enlarged and enriched by cultural contact with Babylonia and Egypt.

From the earliest times we come upon outstanding men and women in Israel who were famed for their practical wisdom. The "wise woman of Tekoa" was employed by Joab to intercede with David on Absalom's behalf, and her words reveal an amazing insight into human motives. Ahithophel and Hushai were among David's counselors. When Absalom rebelled, Ahithophel went with him. His counsels were brought to nought by the cleverness of his rival, whereupon he committed suicide.

It was among such men that Solomon was reared, to become himself famed as the greatest of sages. He was reputed to have been the author of "three thou-

sand proverbs and five hundred songs." Through his Egyptian queen he may have gained some knowledge of ancient Egyptian wisdom. To the mind of primitive folk there has always been a close connection between wisdom and magic, the very word being derived from the Greek term applied to the distinct order of sages maintained at the Persian court; so it is not surprising that later times regarded Solomon as the supreme master of occult arts.

The Wise Men of Israel, however, had nothing to do with magic, nor did they constitute a separate order. They were simply men of wide experience and keen observation, poets as well as philosophers, who set themselves up more or less informally as teachers of youth. It was not until the decline of prophecy, when the priests who succeeded to the leadership of the religious life were absorbed with ceremonial to the exclusion of the deeper interests, that the sages came into greatest prominence and their most important works were produced. They devoted themselves to compiling collections of ancient wisdom summing up the rules of practical success. Thrift, diligence, prudent self-control in the matter of bodily indulgence, ability to keep one's own counsel—these were the laws laid down for him who would prosper and find happiness. Like a considerable part of the magazine literature of our own time, it was a wordly philosophy which was thus set up, taking small account of the greater matters of the human spirit. That right living would be followed by inevitable success was taken for granted.

By degrees, however, the deeper problems of experience forced themselves upon the attention of the wise men, and they began to question the adequacy of this

bread-and-butter philosophy. The years of struggle and hardship through which the Judean community passed could not fail to have their effect. The disillusionment of later Greek philosophy with which Jewish scholars came in contact after the breaking-up of Alexander's empire also influenced Hebrew thought. It was inevitable that Jewish philosophy in the end should grapple with the darkest problems of life, and the common-sense maxims of the Book of Proverbs give place to the melancholy of Ecclesiastes and the tragic intensity of Job. Still later, too late to be included in the sacred Canon, two other important contributions to the wisdom literature were written, *Ben Sirach*, or *Ecclesiasticus*, and *The Wisdom of Solomon*. These works, now to be found in the Apocrypha, find the solution of human problems in the doctrine of personal immortality, which was unknown to earlier Hebrews.

Probably no part of the Old Testament is so familiar to the average reader as the Book of Proverbs, so long attributed to the inspired wisdom of Solomon. How much truth lies behind the tradition that the Wise King was the author of a collection of proverbial maxims we do not know. One section of the present book is entitled, "Proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." But it is certain that he had nothing to do with the book as we have it to-day. Hundreds of these epigrams no doubt came originally from the shrewd wisdom of the common folk, like the old-wives' sayings of every race. Even Poor Richard did not invent all his maxims, but reproduced what he had heard from his boyhood in New England fields and kitchens.

The book is not a unit, but is made up of several distinct sections, each with a distinguishing title. The language, the moral standards, the religious background, assumed though seldom expressed, belong to the post-exilic period. The social ideals of Amos and Isaiah, the individualism of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the Deuteronomic doctrine of the relation between religious loyalty and temporal prosperity, have all been built so firmly into the common thought as to be taken for granted without argument. The family life is that of the later time when monogamy was the accepted basis. There is scarcely a reference to pastoral or agricultural life, but a thousand to city streets, to business affairs, to the courts of kings.

It has been frequently pointed out that the Book of Proverbs has very little to do with religion as such. The name of Jehovah is seldom mentioned. The worship of the Temple and the performance of religious duties are passed over with scarcely a word. There is no reference to Israel's calling as the Chosen People, and there is hardly a sign of patriotic feeling. The Wise Men have been well denominated humanists, looking from the side-lines upon the great game of life and presenting their interpretation of its rules. Nevertheless religion is taken for granted throughout. At the very outset the declaration is plainly set forth that the fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom. To the religious teachers sin is rebelliousness and disobedience toward Jehovah and His Law. To the sages it is folly, bringing in its train inevitable disaster. The observations of the wise teach, on the basis of experience, the conclusions reached by the prophets through the gift of spiritual insight, but the outcome is precisely the same.

The older sections of the Book of Proverbs are made up of some hundreds of pithy couplets, many of which have passed into common speech. They deal with life in all its common relations, and follow no systematic order but are a miscellany of concentrated common sense. To these are added groups of more extended passages of much later origin, dealing with various phases of human folly. The whole is introduced by a number of philosophical poems in praise of wisdom, some of which deserve a place with the finest products of poetic genius. Here we have the philosophy of the sages at its best. The worldly tone of the older gnomic wisdom, with its emphasis on wealth and the achievement of success, gives place to the recognition of that deeper wisdom which is but another name for virtue, and is its own reward. At least one of these poems reveals the influence of Greek thought, and anticipates in almost identical terms the Logos doctrine of Philo, who flourished at Alexandria two centuries later and whose teachings profoundly affected the early Christian theology.

The chief importance of the wisdom literature lies in its open-eyed contact with everyday life, its sane hard-headed practicality. The spiritual idealism of the Hebrew religion is brought down to earth and translated into the language of the street and the market-place. It has the canny humor, the healthy cynicism, of the man in the street. For this reason it affords perhaps the readiest point of contact with the mind of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER XII

THE LITERATURE OF DISILLUSION

"THERE is no new thing under the sun." The old age of a civilization, like that of a man, brings with it disillusionment and world-weariness. The student of history finds it in the apathy of the Orient. He sees it in the decadence of Greek civilization and the teachings of Zeno and Epicurus. He hears it in Pilate's bored cynicism, "What is truth?" The unrest of jazz-ridden youth betrays it no less than the flatness of tone and barrenness of thought of present-day literature. It was inevitable that as the creative inspiration of the prophetic era passed a minor note should begin to be heard in the Hebrew writings.

It is characteristic of idealism that it sees everything *sub specie aeternitatis*. It deals with absolutes and ultimates, and takes no account of the intervening steps, the halting progress, the spiritual blindness and moral inertia which hold the world of real life from its divine goal. The poet and the philosopher know that this does not of necessity invalidate the ideal. It only means that ideals themselves must be both interpreted and corrected by experience. But it is human to accept new visions with enthusiasm, to imagine that newly discovered truths will solve all problems; and then, when we are brought up short by their limitations, to suffer the reaction of doubt and disbelief.

The visions of the prophets, the spiritual emotions of the psalmists, even the common-sense philosophy of the sages, had all to pass the bar of this judgment. The Covenant of Jehovah had not saved the Hebrew nation from the fate of its pagan neighbors. To forsake Baal and Ashtoreth and to load the altars of Jehovah with sacrifices did not avail to ward off disaster. Personal loyalty and obedience gave the individual no immunity from the common lot; the innocent suffered with the guilty in the final catastrophe. The later prophets dismissed the teachings of their predecessors as fragmentary and imperfect, but they themselves could find no solution of the historical problem save in the dream of a distant future. The promise to Abraham evidently did not mean what it seemed, and the goal of the Great Adventure forever receded as the race advanced.

Devout individuals might rise to the consciousness of a spiritual mission beyond the hopes of political achievement. They might find occasion for rejoicing in the evident answer to their personal prayers, or beyond this take refuge in the comfort of spiritual companionishp, but to the average Israelite Jehovah was a God who hideth Himself. Even the devout presently discovered that not all prayers are answered or all desires fulfilled.

The bread-and-butter philosophy of success broke down sooner than all the rest. It is always the point of view of the fortunate, never that of the victim of ungovernable circumstance. It is popular in periods of prosperity, but it has never been able to survive a financial panic or a world war. Diligence and thrift and a correspondence course in "Personality Plus" can never guarantee a salary of ten thousand a year, nor

can wealth and power themselves insure happiness and contentment.

There must be something wrong somewhere. The lesson of the prophets sunk home to the average consciousness; nothing but righteousness could win the favor of Jehovah. Then the good men must be successful and happy. This was axiomatic. "Wisdom is better than rubies. Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor." This was common sense. How could it be otherwise in a world governed by the power and wisdom of Almighty God?

Alas, in practice it simply does not work. Life is by no means as simple as this. The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. Life to the sensitive soul is an unending series of disappointments and disillusionments. Its meaning must lie far beneath the surface of common sense.

The close of the third century before Christ was the darkest period in the history of the Judean community. The death of Alexander and the consequent disruption of his empire left Palestine a bone of contention between the rival powers of Egypt and Syria. Ravaged by contending armies and the prey of rapacious tax-gatherers, frequently of their own blood—the hated "publicans" of the New Testament—the helpless little province, scarce twenty miles square, saw only the darker side of the Hellenic civilization. The orthodox clung to the ceremonial worship of the Temple and the scribal refinements of the Law. The thoughtful were compelled to recognize the limitations of the accepted philosophy, and to seek for further light or to sink in the darkness of despair. The age of faith was passed; the age of doubt had arrived.

The classical expressions of the spirit of disillusionment in Hebrew literature are the pensive melancholy of Ecclesiastes and the tragic drama of Job.

Of all the writings of the Hebrew sages there is none that strikes so responsive a chord in the modern mind as the Book of Ecclesiastes, or as it is coming to be known from the title adopted by its author, Kohéleth, "The Preacher." The very limitations of its viewpoint: its deep-seated skepticism, its resignation to an all-embracing pessimism, sound a note with which the spirit of our age is in remarkable accord. Its nearest parallel is to be found in the *Rubaiyat* of Omar, as interpreted through the sympathetic genius of a nineteenth-century English poet.

Before the works of such a writer could be admitted to the Hebrew Canon it was necessary that his conclusions should be modified and brought into harmony with the prevailing orthodoxy, and the book as we have it bears the marks of much pious editing. There can be no doubt that its groundwork comes from the hand of one who was thoroughly disillusioned; who could find no real meaning in human existence and who, lacking the vision of a future life in which the contradictions of present experience should be resolved, summed up the conclusions of a lifetime in the words, "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity."

The spirit of Kohéleth is entirely without bitterness. It is rather one of calm acceptance, not without cheerfulness. He has been called "the gentle cynic." With quiet resignation he takes refuge in the simple joys and homely duties of the daily life, work and friendship and love, as the only things worth while. These yield some measure of satisfaction, and while

they cannot endure, they should be tasted to the full.

There are those who see in this point of view the musings of a worn-out *roué* who has exhausted life's pleasures, has lived only for himself, and has found that wealth and power, pleasure and indulgence, even knowledge and the pursuit of wisdom, leave but ashes in the mouth. This is to do less than justice to this philosophic poet, and fails to take account of his dramatic method. It is true, he represents himself as one who has experienced all that life can give, and has experimented largely in its darker as well as its worthier phases. All this experience is put into the mouth of a great and luxurious king, presumably Solomon, under whose illustrious figure the poet dramatizes his observations of life.

There is no reason to suppose that the author was drawing everywhere upon his own personal experience. He was rather a gentle and melancholy soul, oppressed with a sense of the futility of all things mundane and driven by the creative urge that was in him to declare the truth as he saw it. He does not deny the religious teachings of the Jewish faith. He assumes the reality of God and accepts the standards of simple morality. But he sees clearly the shallowness of the current notion that a devout life will be crowned with success. He is clear-sighted enough to recognize the emptiness of worldly prosperity and power. Even the pursuit of knowledge yields no durable satisfaction, and wisdom brings no peace to the soul. Achievement turns to ashes because by the time it is attained it is already outgrown. Knowledge cannot fill the empty heart, nor philosophy warm the silent hearth. The supreme tragedy, to Kohéleth as to the modern mind, lies in the brevity and uncertainty of life, upon which like

Omar he rings the changes again and again. Lacking the consolations of the immortal hope, he can only fall back upon the worth of simple virtues and the satisfaction which the healthy mind finds in love and friendship and the fulfillment of life's obligations. The work ends with a poetic description of old age which is one of the most beautiful and poignant passages in all literature.

Jewish thought could not permit the skepticism of the book to go unanswered. Various editors added their comments, frequently incorporated into the text itself, which has thus grown a full fourth beyond its original dimensions. The apocalyptic *Wisdom of Solomon* was apparently written as a direct answer, and brings forward the hope of a future life as the only sufficient solvent of life's problems.

The Book of Job furnishes us with the only example of anything approaching dramatic poetry in Hebrew literature. The Semitic mind apparently did not run to drama. Neither in Egypt nor in Babylonia do we find anything of the sort. Among the Israelites songs were frequently antiphonal, and accompanied by choral dancing of the type which laid the foundations for the development of Greek drama, but they seem never to have passed this stage. The prophets are frequently dramatic in the presentation of their material, even to the extent of employing dialogue, or themselves assuming a symbolic rôle in order to impress a particular idea upon the popular imagination. As we have seen, Kohéleth makes use of the dramatic method. But the idea of combining the symbolic impersonation and the dialogue into a single dramatic representation seems never to have occurred

to them. Job itself is almost wholly devoid of action, and the dialogue, in the form of long, set speeches in lofty verse, moves too slowly for dramatic presentation. The setting, likewise, is too vast for any theater. The stage is as broad as the East itself. The scenic background is the desert with its caravans, great cities with their teeming folk, and above them the sky in its cloudless splendor or its writhing, storm-tossed thunderheads.

Job has been called the Matterhorn of Hebrew literature, towering in solitary majesty above the lesser peaks. Carlyle says of it:

It is all as great as the summer midnight, as the world with its seas and stars! There is nothing written, I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal merit. I call that, apart from all theories about it, one of the grandest things ever written with pen. One feels indeed as if it were not Hebrew; such a noble universality, different from noble patriotism or sectarianism, reigns in it. A noble book; all men's book. It is our first, oldest statement of the never-ending Problem,—man's destiny, and God's ways with him here in this earth.

The Second Isaiah may surpass it in spiritual feeling, in depth of insight into the character of the divine Love. But in the majestic splendor of its poetry, in the tragic poignancy of its sympathy with the stricken heart of man, beset with doubt and baffled by the darkness of fate, it stands apart, one of the supreme classics of all time.

Like most of the older monuments of literature its author is unknown. Who or whence he was and when he lived no one has ever been able to guess. The

foundation of the work is a Hebrew folk-tale, its framework is the Jewish religion, its background is the civilization of the East, its language and style belong to the fourth or fifth centuries before Christ. In all that is essential it is timeless and universal.

Like most ancient works it is not a closely knit unit. It underwent many editings and much material was added to it. The magnificent Hymn to Wisdom in the twenty-eighth chapter belongs rather to the Book of Proverbs. The discourses of Elihu are inferior to the rest, and were apparently the work of a later writer who felt that the friends of Job had not made the most of their argument. Modern criticism is pretty well agreed that the original poem ended with Job's Oath of Clearing, leaving the fundamental problem unsolved and insoluble, and that the later chapters were an attempt on the part of more orthodox thinkers to soften the pessimism of the older work and bring it into harmony with religious thought. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Book of Job which the world has treasured and loved is that in which the discussion between Job and his friends is lifted to a higher plane by the self-revelation of God out of the whirlwind, and in which, while the mystery of innocent suffering is not solved, the soul of the Sufferer finds peace in the Presence of God.

The dramatic poem is bracketed by a prose tale evidently taken from the popular folk-stories of the time. Its interpretation of Job's sufferings is entirely inconsistent with the attitude of the poem itself. The author could not tamper with a well-known tale. He simply used it as a sort of text upon which to base his far more philosophical treatment of the problem.

This popular story accounts for Job's trials as a test of disinterested loyalty. Job triumphantly endures the test, and is rewarded by greater prosperity than ever. This is altogether too naïve, but it furnished a starting-point from which the poem launches out into the fundamental tragedy of human experience.

On the face of it the Book of Job is a discussion of the apparent injustice and heartlessness of fate, whereby the good are subjected to the extremity of suffering, while the wicked frequently are immune. In effect it becomes a presentation of the whole problem of evil. How can the existence of sorrow and suffering, of sin and death, be reconciled with the idea of a perfect and just God, of omnipotent might, whose creative Will is the ground of all existence? Modern thought, from John Stuart Mill to William James, has dismissed the problem as insoluble, and has taken refuge in the doctrine of the impotence of God, who must not be criticized because He is doing the best He can with the intractable Universe which He finds somehow at His disposal. He is slowly introducing order into this chaos, and meantime needs the loyal assistance of right-hearted men in establishing the rule of justice and truth. Job does not go so far as this, but simply states the elements of the problem.

The comfortable Orthodoxy of Judaism took it for granted that the good will find favor with Jehovah. The corollary of this proposition is that misfortune and suffering are *prima facie* evidence of sin, deserving punishment. It is against this heartless assumption that Job protests with all his might. His friends present the conventional arguments, and seek in vain to convict Job of either unwitting or contumacious wrong. Conscious in his inmost soul of his integrity,

the heroic Sufferer appeals from Jehovah's interpreters to Jehovah Himself, declaring, "Though He slay me, yet will I defy Him." He declares it the heart of the tragedy that he cannot come face to face with the Almighty, to have the matter out with Him. He finds no ray of light in the darkness, yet he knows that his friends are utterly and hopelessly wrong, and in the end, having called destruction upon his head if he has done aught that deserves such a fate, he wraps his face in his mantle and sits down declaring that he has done: "The words of Job are ended."

The character of Job is conceived on the scale of grandeur. Not Abraham nor Moses moves before our eyes with such majesty of bearing, such a strength and dignity of soul. Even the Prometheus of Æschylus scarcely attains the restrained intensity of Job. Broken to the depths of his soul by the injustice of his lot, wounded to the quick by the suspicions of his friends, he faces the Almighty Himself with sublime assurance and argues with Him as with an equal.

The friends of Job are portrayed with remarkable insight. Eliphaz is the eldest, a man of wide experience and great dignity, courtly, tactful, considerate. He is distinctly a philosopher. His conception of God is lofty and awe-inspiring. His limitation is that he moves in a world of abstract theories to which the facts of experience must be made to conform. He bases all his argument on the accepted orthodoxy that calamity is invariably the result of man's sin. As a result, his preconceived judgment of his friend is as impenetrable as adamant, and his tactful endeavor to lead Job to confess the error of his ways in time gives place to direct arraignment the more implacable by

reason of his friendship, and as merciless as the dogma upon which his reasoning is based.

Bildad is a traditionalist. That which has been believed "always, everywhere and by all" must be true. He argues from the teaching of the fathers, and his discussion is largely devoted to defending God's ways against the aspersions of Job. Zophar is a dogmatist pure and simple. He does not argue, he blusters and tries to talk Job down. The divine Wisdom is inscrutable, and man's only duty is to submit. The entire discussion, thrice repeated on an ascending scale, might be a Scotch presbytery raised to the *n*th power.

Job as the outset is bewildered by this attack where he looked for understanding sympathy. He can scarcely believe his ears. He admits that in the anguish of his grief he has spoken rashly, but pleads that he was beside himself with agony. When their continued arguments convince him that his friends do not believe in him he turns upon them with bitter reproaches, and reiterates his innocence. This in turn calls forth their indignant rebuke. They must be right—is not their doctrine universally accepted? Job at length sees that they are talking at cross-purposes, and turns from them to the very God who has afflicted him. He appeals from the God of tradition to the God of Justice and Truth, in whom the soul must believe or die.

The brief glimpse of a life beyond, when he shall stand face to face with his Vindicator, has been attacked by modern critics as a pious interpolation. But even if it be accepted as belonging to the original poem, it does not fully satisfy Job, for immortality

itself cannot alone solve the problem of destiny. We still must know the character and purposes of God. The poetic drama properly ends, therefore, with Job's Oath of Clearing, in which the Sufferer sets forth the lofty ideals of integrity and service to humanity which have guided him throughout his life, and calls down a curse upon his head if these be not the truth. The problem of human suffering is still unsolved.

Hebrew philosophy could not leave the matter at this point. Disregarding the episode of Elihu, which is really an intrusion and does not advance the argument of Job's friends, we must have regard to the truly worth-while addition to the original poem afforded by the Voice from the Whirlwind. Two or three passages, describing with picturesque extravagance the elephant (behemoth), the crocodile (leviathan) and the war-horse, are of little merit and were no doubt of late interpolation. The remainder is of the highest order of majestic poetry, fully equal to the best passages of the older work. The apparent purpose of the argument is to crush Job by the display of the divine Majesty and the matchless rehearsal of the divine Power displayed in the whole Creation. Job evidently regrets his hasty speech: "Once have I spoken, but I will not answer, yea twice, but I will proceed no further." In the end he declares: "I have heard of thee with the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." Nevertheless the whole effect of the passage is quite other than this surface meaning. It is neither of sin which he has heretofore refused to acknowledge, nor of his defiant assertion of his integrity that Job repents. His attitude is

rather the inevitable self-abasement of true manhood in the presence of the Infinite:

Forgive what seemed my sin in me,
 What seemed my worth since I began,
 Since merit lives from man to man,
 And not from man, O Lord, to Thee.

In the presence of the self-revelation of God all questions disappear. They are not answered. The doubts of the human heart are not resolved. Neither the older poetic drama nor this superb epilogue offers any solution of the problem of evil. The former leaves the reader with a feeling that a great-hearted man is in himself triumphant over any fate.

It matters not how strait the gate,
 How charged with punishments the scroll,
 I am the Master of my Fate,
 I am the Captain of my Soul!

The latter carries us deeper still, and leaves us breathless with awe in the Presence, assured that however mysterious God's ways or inscrutable His decrees, He is still God and worthy of all submissive confidence. The first thrills us with the greatness of Man; the last inspires us with the greatness of God. The heart of the Sufferer is at peace, because "Mine eye seeth Thee."

A skeptical age like our own responds swiftly to the noble self-assurance of the older drama, but finds the profound faith of the final conclusion beyond its grasp. Most recent critics, therefore, dismiss everything which comes after Job's dramatic Oath as merely the attempt of pious orthodoxy to bring the whole work into harmony with religious tradition. But this strikes us as too easygoing. Even orthodoxy was origi-

nally grounded in experience. The crystallized incrustations in which it has imprisoned the expanding body of the living Truth must needs be broken up, for life must have freedom. The acid of skeptical criticism is invaluable to this end. But criticism is after all negative. It can bring us to no worth-while discoveries. It was a sound instinct, therefore, on the part of Israel's latest poet which led him to refuse to rest in the negative results of the literature of disillusionment, and to add to the superb but truncated drama of Job a fitting *dénouement* which brings the whole work to an end, not on the note of an unsupported human self-assertion, but of a divine Self-revelation.

The present world is critical of "happy endings" and of Pollyanna optimism. Even the robust cheeriness of Browning leaves it cold. It has learned that even the triumphant spiritual faith of traditional Christianity leaves many human problems unsolved, and must somehow be reinterpreted if it is to carry any weight in the new age. It is not content, with Tennyson, to "faintly trust the larger hope." It demands realities, based on proven facts and capable of laboratory demonstration.

The more reason, therefore, why it should study thoughtfully the spiritual adventure of the ancient Hebrews, until it comes to realize that not even the skepticism of the disillusioned poets to whom we are indebted for Kohéleth and Job had the last word. The frankness with which they faced the more baffling problems of human experience, and their utter refusal to rest in the easy solutions of current orthodoxy, are tonic and refreshing. Their true greatness lies in their discovery that despite the emptiness of

all human endeavor the simple joys of common life are worth all they cost, and the human soul is unspeakably great and noble, even though it seems to meet with nothing but disaster and defeat.

But this is not a sufficient basis on which to rest a life-philosophy. The orthodox moralists were not so far astray after all when they appended to the skeptical conclusions of Kohéleth the trite conclusion:

Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.

And a poet of profound insight and lofty creative power furnished to the drama of Job an epilogue which has contributed as much as anything in the drama itself to give it a commanding place with the supreme masterpieces of all time.

It is worthy of note that in the final arrangement of the Hebrew Canon both these striking works were given a subordinate position, while the writings of the prophets were placed at the end, that the reader might close his studies upon the note of promise:

“Unto to you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise, with healing in his wings.”

ENVOY

*Build thee more stately mansions, O my Soul,
As the swift seasons roll.
Leave thy low-vaulted Past;
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from Heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine out-grown shell by Life's unresting sea.*

O. W. HOLMES, *The Chambered Nautilus*

*Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
Forever and forever when I move.*

TENNYSON, *Ulysses*

ENVOY

ONE thing must be clear to the thoughtful student of this spiritual history: the end sought is a flying goal, and each new achievement becomes at once the starting-point for further quest.

When the Beni-Israel reached the Promised Land after a thousand years, their historic adventure had only begun. When after two centuries more they won national independence and power, they had still to learn what to do with it. When, through their failure in this respect, it slipped from their grasp, the horizon of world-citizenship still beckoned them, and the dream of world-conquest was sublimated into the Messianic Hope.

In like manner each conquest in the realm of truth proved only a landing-stage. Each successive legal code embodied a broader ethical vision. Each generation of prophets carried the spiritual ideal to a new and loftier plane. The heresy of one generation became the orthodoxy of the next. Even doubt and unfaith proved the ministers of deeper insight and a more far-reaching conception of truth. The dynamic imprisoned in crystallized institutions forever burst the barriers to attain new levels. The mechanical particularism into which the creative spirit of the literary masterpieces died away proved the matrix in which the tremendous spiritual energy of the New Testament movement was germinated.

The history of Christian thought during nineteen cen-

turies but affords new illustrations of the same enduring principle, though this is another story. Life is an adventure never ended, ever new. Truth itself is never static; always dynamic, creative, self-renewing. Each generation must make its own discoveries, win its own standing-ground, mold to its own necessities the deposit of past experience.

Herein lies the failure of the traditional notion of authority. Men have always tried to find something final in the realm of moral and spiritual truth; some established certainty, some guaranteed formula which might be locked up in an ecclesiastical Bureau of Standards, whereby every movement of the mind and spirit might be measured and judged. But the attempt is doomed to failure. It rests on a complete misunderstanding of the relation of truth to life. There is not, and there can never be, such a fixed and final measure of reality. It is in the very nature of things impossible. Life, nature, language, the mind of man, all are ever on the move. This is the eternal flux, now advancing, now receding; staying nowhere long enough for more than a swift snapshot which even while it is glimpsed is already out of date. Moral ideals, spiritual vision, are the fruit of experience, born of the irrepressible instinct of the soul to find meaning and purpose in life. They are valid only insofar as they are interpreted by the life out of which they grew, applied to and modified by the ever-changing life of succeeding generations.

The fruit of the past is thus an ever-growing deposit, not of authoritative formulas, but of human experience. Its authority is that of wisdom, to be accepted in the spirit of the disciple, never the slave. What its

limitations may be, what adjustments must inevitably be made in the light of broadening life and expanding knowledge, none can say. Yet it may never be lightly brushed aside, nor its most inspiring visions regarded as illusion.

Out of one crisis after another the Hebrew race emerged, each time with a deeper insight into the ultimate law of human relations; each time also with a surer grasp of enduring values, with a firmer conviction that the roots of life lie deep in the world of the spirit, and its destinies are to be measured not in years but in eternities. Each time the insight into the essential character of that underlying Reality which, in Browning's phrase, "I call God and fools call Nature," emerged more broad and clear, until at the hand of the Nazarene Prophet and his great interpreter Paul the religious philosophy of the Hebrew seers was welded into the recognition of a divine Kingdom as broad as humanity and as enduring as Reality itself.

The adventure of Abraham, therefore, and of the race which sprung from his loins, becomes merged into the spiritual adventure of humanity itself, the challenge to undertake the conquest of moral inertia and spiritual blindness; to enthrone the spiritual above the animal in every relation of life; to bring peace to all nations; to establish the reign of justice and mutual service in all the earth; above all, to open the channels of communication between the heart of the humblest human being and the eternal heart of God.

It is the glory of Abraham that he did not wait for logic to solve the ultimate problems of philosophy before undertaking this quest. He simply acted on the assumption that the intuitions of his soul must be

trustworthy. He saw the vision, he followed the call. Religion has called this faith, and the modern critic has been busy with the grammar and the dictionary to determine the meaning and delimit the scope of the word. What really moved the Father of the Faithful was the spirit of adventure. He saw a beckoning opportunity, and he took the chance. The underlying assumptions of such an exploit are interesting enough. They lie far beyond the reach of the logical reason. Like the axioms of mathematics or the structural categories of thought itself, they are in the nature of primal intuitions. They are given, as part of the essential structure of the mind and soul. It is as impossible to go behind them as for the eye to see itself.

The most thoroughgoing skeptic is compelled to assume that reality is somehow penetrable by the human reason, that it conforms in some measure to the laws of thought. Otherwise communication itself is unthinkable, and science a contradiction of terms. The whole structure of human knowledge is a working-out of the implications of this initial assumption. It is an adventure, based on the willingness to take this chance.

It is not otherwise with a spiritual philosophy, which assumes the validity of moral distinctions and the significance of human values. If in the pursuit of knowledge the mind comes upon a cosmos of interacting forces acting under discoverable laws, the soul in like manner, searching for truth, comes upon God and the Moral Order. Faith is a spiritual adventure, daring to act on the assumption that life has a discoverable meaning. Mankind has been called incurably religious. The attempt to discover the operative forces of the

spiritual world and the application of its laws to the human problems of the daily life, this is the scientific expedition upon which the Children of the Covenant set forth, the fruits of which are enshrined in the Hebrew literature. It is their glory that in the pursuit of this quest they have thrown more light upon the pathway of moral achievement than can be found anywhere else in the world. But when they had done their utmost they had but opened up the coast-line and explored the borders of this new world. Its hinterland of social justice, of humanized commerce and industry, of universal good will, of contentment and universal happiness, to say nothing of its highlands of spiritual joy and its mountain-peaks of vision, still challenge the utmost resources of human endeavor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The reader who wishes to follow up this book with further studies in the Old Testament literature will find in the following list a few of the most interesting and helpful works in English. For the scholar, the bibliography of Biblical criticism is all but inexhaustible. The mere titles of the books and studies which have appeared in all modern languages since Jean Astruc, the French physician, first raised the question of the Mosaic authorship of Genesis a century and a half ago, would fill a fair-sized volume. The list we offer is intended rather for the popular reader, and comprises only a few of the more readily available summaries of modern scholarship for those who would go somewhat deeper into the questions raised.

A few words regarding some of the more important may be useful.

The Modern Reader's Bible is well known. It aims to put the entire Bible before the reader in the literary forms most nearly approaching the original intent of the ancient authors. If sometimes Dr. Moulton's literary interpretations seem somewhat fanciful, yet the whole work gives to the Scriptures a freshness and a vivid humanness which has never been surpassed. The work has been published in a number of small volumes, but may also be had in a single volume at moderate cost.

The Student's Old Testament, by the late Charles Foster Kent, is a monumental work, the most comprehensive history and analysis of the Hebrew writings available to the English reader. Access to it can usually be had in any well-equipped public library. The historical and critical introductions to the six volumes are also published separately in a single volume under the title, *The Growth and Contents of the Old Testament*, which should be on the shelves of every Bible student.

Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is an inexhaustible mine of critical scholarship. It also should be found in any good public library. It goes more deeply into the technicalities of criticism than most readers will care to follow, but is generally regarded as authoritative.

Professor Wild's *Literary Guide to the Bible* is a very readable little volume, illustrating profusely the elements of folk song and legend.

Dr. Clarke's *Sixty Years with the Bible* came from the pen of one of the most persuasive and constructive theologians of the last generation. It traces with great frankness and sincerity the author's transition from the traditional to the modern point of view. It should prove helpful to the devout reader who wishes to reassure himself as to the effect of such studies upon his religious thinking.

Dr. Fosdick's *Modern Use of the Bible*, like Horton's *Verbum Dei* and Smith's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, was delivered first as the Yale *Lectures on Preaching*, and is intended primarily for the minister. All three of these books, however, contain a great deal of material of general interest, and they emphasize in no uncertain terms the spiritual value of the so-called "modernist" attitude.

Two recent books by Lewis Browne, while popular in tone and somewhat superficial in character, are remarkably readable and stimulating. *This Believing World* is a brief summary of the history of religion from primitive times. *Stranger Than Fiction* is a sketch of the Jewish race from its origin to the present time. Both books include unusually clear and interesting summaries of the Bible history.

Barton's *Book Nobody Knows* is intended for the "man in the street." Mr. Barton is himself an able and successful business man, and he knows how to put his material in a form to appeal to his fellows. His book makes no pretense to critical scholarship, and it rarely goes below the surface, but it will no doubt lead many to read the Bible who otherwise would have passed it by as a mere collection of theological proof-texts.

BOOK LIST

FOR THE GENERAL READER

BROWNE, LEWIS, *Stranger Than Fiction.*

——— *This Believing World.*

BARTON, BRUCE, *The Book Nobody Knows.*

CLARKE, WILLIAM NEWTON, *Sixty Years with the Bible.*

PHELPS, WILLIAM LYON, *Human Nature in the Bible.*

WILD, LAURA, *Literary Guide to the Bible.*

FOR THE STUDENT

Hebrew Literature

HASTINGS, JAMES, *Dictionary of the Bible* (6 vols.).

KENT, CHARLES FOSTER, *Student's Old Testament* (6 vols.).

——— *Growth and Contents of the Old Testament* (1 vol.).

MOULTON, H. G., *Modern Reader's Bible.*

ORR, JAMES, *The Problem of the Old Testament.*

History and Geography

BAILEY AND KENT, *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth.*

SMITH, GEORGE ADAM, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.*

STANLEY, ARTHUR PENRHYN, *Sinai and Palestine.*

THOMSON, JAMES, *The Land and the Book.*

SANDERS, E. K., *History of the Hebrews.*

Theological

FOSDICK, HARRY EMERSON, *The Modern Use of the Bible.*

HORTON, ROBERT F., *Verbum Dei.*

SMITH, GEORGE ADAM, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.*

Special Subjects.

JASTROW, MORRIS, *The Gentle Cynic.*

——— *The Book of Job.*

——— *The Song of Songs.*

KENT, C. F., *The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus.*

KNUDSON, ALBERT C., *Beacon Lights of Prophecy.*

SOARES, THEODORE G., *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible.*

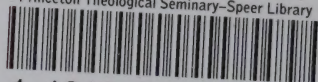
~~NOV 10 '74~~

[illegible]

BS1187.P88

In search of God; an appreciation of the

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00028 9217